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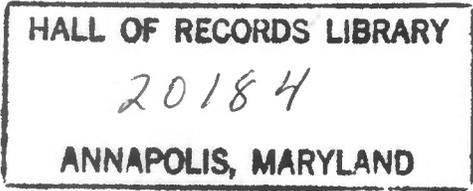
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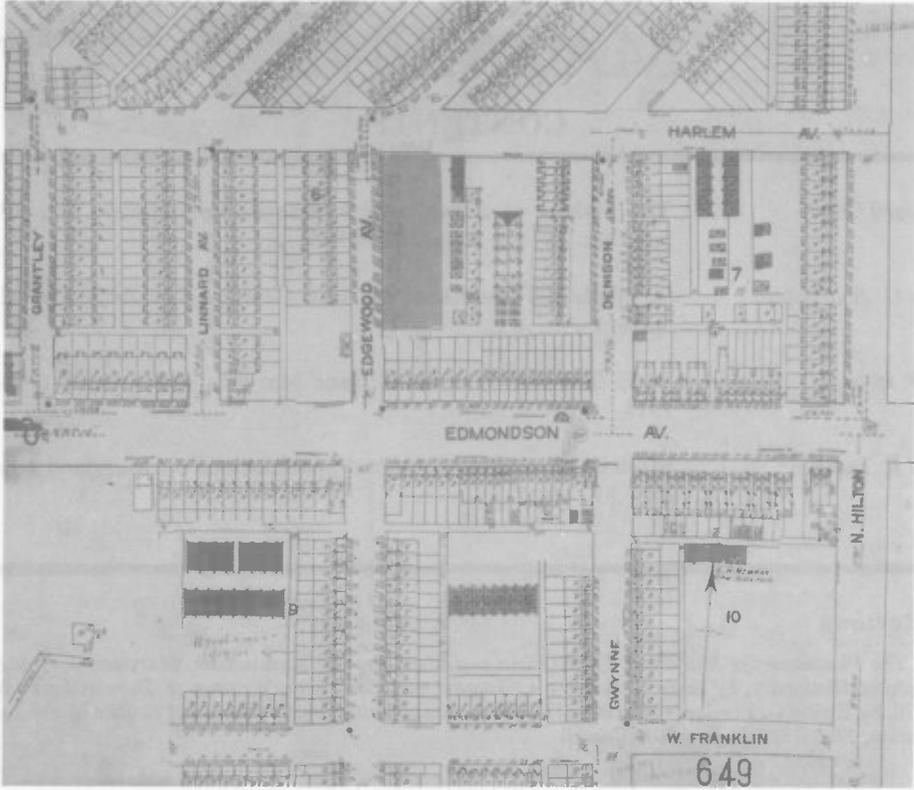
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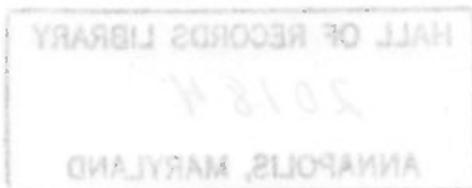




Fire insurance maps, like those prepared by the Sanborn Map Company, provide an excellent resource for local history research. Frequently, the base maps were updated by direct application of overlays, so that they afford a physical record of change over time.

This portion from Sanborn's *Insurance Maps of Baltimore, Md.*, showing a section of Edmondson Avenue just west of Hilton Street, was originally published in 1914, when development had just begun; subsequent overlays (slightly lighter in the photo) included additional development to 1927. Structures are color-coded by building material, with red representing brick, yellow for frame, and blue for cement block. Letter designations distinguish between dwellings ("D"), stores ("S"), and garages ("A"), while other structures—churches, schools, workplaces—are identified by name.

Intended to provide detailed information of practical contemporary application for insurance underwriters, the maps are a valuable source for local historians as well. (The map is reproduced with the permission of the Sanborn Map Company and through the courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.)



# The Making of a Baltimore Rowhouse Community: The Edmondson Avenue Area, 1915–1945

W. EDWARD ORSER

... because of the electric railway, the very modest wage earner, no less than the prosperous business man, might leave his wife to breathe fresh country air and his children to romp over green fields, and yet not be further removed from them in point of time than if they were crowded into some sunless, damp court.

—William A. House, president of Baltimore's United Railways (1912)<sup>1</sup>

**I**N HIS NOW CLASSIC STUDY OF BOSTON'S late nineteenth-century streetcar suburbs, Sam Bass Warner, Jr., observed that developers had not built communities; they had built streets of houses. Yet, as Warner made clear, the results had been neighborhoods whose social and economic structures differentiated them very clearly from older sections of the previous walking city. The new suburban metropolis of Boston by 1900 functioned as a "selective melting pot" in which "people were separated by income and mixed together with little regard to national origin."<sup>2</sup> As a whole genre of social mobility studies have demonstrated, the nineteenth-century city was characterized by extremely high rates of residential mobility and by lesser degrees of social mobility.<sup>3</sup> While we know a great deal about the phenomenon of change at the metropolitan level, we have few studies from this or subsequent periods which filter the process of differentiation to the neighborhood level to consider the dynamic of change and stability in the newly established communities in such cities as Boston or Baltimore, where the streetcar suburb phenomenon occurred.<sup>4</sup>

The present study will examine one manifestation of this phenomenon, a late street-

car-early auto, rowhouse suburb which took root in the Edmondson Avenue corridor of West Baltimore in the early decades of the twentieth century; experienced the housing boom of the 1920s and continued growth thereafter; created a new community with its defined turf, distinctive social character, and patterned culture; only to succumb totally and rapidly to white flight, fueled by blockbusting and consumed by racial fears, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Such a scenario was not untypical for the era—in countless communities in urban centers like Baltimore and elsewhere—yet its very "typicality" deserves investigation, because it poses a two-fold question: 1) what was the social and cultural character of these new, highly differentiated middle income urban neighborhoods, and 2) why did they respond as they did to the prospect of racial change? The present study will focus on the first question, hoping to find in it some clue to further investigation of the second.

Two factors stand out in the formative stage of the Edmondson community's growth, from 1915 to 1945: first, the process of development and settlement interacted to produce a social definition which remained remarkably consistent over the decades, functioning as a cushion for considerable degrees of social change; second, the differentiated conception of community provided the appearance of stability and

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Dr. Orser teaches in the American Studies Department of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

security, but in reality was quite fragile, proving to be an inadequate basis for adaptation to change which it could not contain. If developers didn't build communities, neither was the social and cultural structure of the communities which emerged a matter of happenstance, but rather a complex interplay of individual aspirations and collective forces we need to know more about if we are to understand the complexity of the twentieth-century American city at the neighborhood level.

Conceiving community as an interplay of place, social structure, and culture, this article will consider: 1) the physical setting of the Edmondson Avenue neighborhood and the nature of its housing development, 2) the social character of the new residents, and 3) the collective identity, shared understandings, and common values which represented the symbolic dimension of their community.<sup>5</sup> While evidence pertaining to the material culture can be gleaned from observation and from such standard sources as tax records, newspapers, photographs, and maps, the social and cultural dimensions present more methodological difficulty. Federal census tract data, which included limited details in 1930 and more extensive tables from 1940 forward, supplies considerable information regarding social characteristics at the neighborhood level. However, its shortcomings for the pre-1940 period and the fact that it does not permit tracing of particular individuals or households over time necessitated the development of a block reconstruction method for this study. Based upon city directories, tax records, and (for the later period) telephone directories, the block survey provides a profile of households on ten sample blocks at ten year intervals, beginning in 1920, including such information as prior and subsequent residence, homeownership, and occupation. Combined with the aggregate figures from the census tract data, it affords a relatively sharp social portrait of the developing community.<sup>6</sup> Finally, oral history interviews with residents from the period under consideration furnish a means for testing perceptions of stability and change against the data compiled in the block survey, as well as a clue

to the way in which social characteristics were mirrored in the rowhouse community's culture.<sup>7</sup>

A prior word about the Edmondson area's earlier history and character is in order. With its western boundary near the crest of the uplands that ring Baltimore on the north and west (along a line that had become the city's new border in 1888), the Edmondson area sloped downward to its eastern terminus, the Gwynns Falls, site of earlier mill enterprises. The ravine formed by this small river cut a deep natural border separating the district distinctly from the developing urban areas to its east and from the city center, a full three miles beyond. Prior to 1910 the only immediate access for vehicular traffic between countryside and city lay along Edmondson Avenue, which bisected the tract and crossed the Gwynns Falls on a narrow trestle bridge, constructed by Baltimore County in 1879-80, just ahead of the city's annexation. As late as 1910 the Edmondson area still consisted primarily of farmland and woods, the preserve of farm estates, a character reflected both in contemporary maps and in the federal manuscript census of that year. While some of the landowning gentry class were year-round residents, like Hugh Gelston of "Gelston Heights," others maintained country residences primarily for summer habitation, as was the case with Mrs. Mary Frick Garrett Jacobs of "Uplands" or E. Austin Jenkins of "Hunting Ridge," the two large estates which bounded the area just west of the city line.<sup>8</sup> Lesser landholdings were in the hands of a somewhat different gentry group, working farmers or those engaged in entrepreneurial occupations.

The gentry clearly continued to set the social and economic tone of the area in 1910 as it had in the past, but two other broad social groups were clearly identifiable parts of the social equation and, indeed, one of them represented the harbinger of imminent change. First, there were those whose livelihood was primarily related to the area's rural environment, whether farm workers on the larger estates, performers of rural-related crafts and services, or operatives and laborers in such enterprises as quarrying. The second and newer group,

1921

# Development of the Edmondson Area

LEGEND:

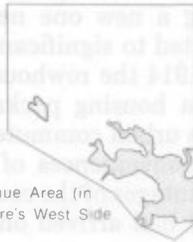
-  Keelty Properties
-  Housing
-  Limit of Study Area



1931



1941



Edmondson Avenue Area (in bold) on Baltimore's West Side

(Source: Baltimore City Tax Records, Street network as of 1982.)

Map 1.



FIGURE 1.

"Areaway" houses, among the first rowhouses on Edmondson Avenue, built in the period 1911–1914 before Keelty's introduction of the daylight type to the area. These houses were 14 feet wide by 45 feet deep, with a narrow space ("areaway") in the rear between every two pairs to allow light to inner rooms.

settled in two brick duplexes and a short line of rowhouses along Edmondson Avenue at the bottom of the hill, differed substantially from the others. For them the Edmondson area represented a country suburban residence for households whose employment was primarily urban. A milk route dairyman, a slaughterhouse butcher, an engraver, a superintendent in a furniture factory—they—and those who would join them shortly—were commuters to the offices, business establishments, and factories east of the Gwynns Falls in the settled portions of the city. Altogether the three groups numbered only 97.<sup>9</sup> Yet, the Ellicott City streetcar line (#14), which had begun service along Edmondson Avenue in 1899; the new wide concrete multi-arched bridge, replacing the older span over the Gwynns Falls in 1910; the new shingle suburban cottages built along Walnut Avenue in Rog-

nel Heights, just west of the city limits, beginning in 1909; and the additional construction along Edmondson Avenue of several sets of brick duplexes and rows between 1910 and 1914, expanding the tiny nucleus at the bottom of the hill and initiating a new one near the top—all these pointed to significant impending change.<sup>10</sup> By 1914 the rowhouse builders were offering a housing package for a new middle class urban commuter which promised "all the conveniences of the city with all the advantages of the country."<sup>11</sup> The suburban ideal had arrived on the Edmondson hillside.

#### I. THE KEELTY ROWHOUSE AND THE SUBURBAN IDEAL

Between 1910 and 1930, the Edmondson Avenue area west of the Gwynns Falls experienced a population surge from 97 to 8,991, much of it coming in the single de-

cade of the 1920s. In retrospect, it appears clear that the market existed for new housing for particular types of people and that developers emerged who were ready to meet that need with housing that suited the clientele. Though in prospect there was little that seemed to dictate how the developer, housing type, and new residents would interact, by 1930—and certainly by 1940—the three had done so in such a fashion that the social character of the community was firmly set. Much of the responsibility was due to James Keelty and his “daylight” style rowhouses.<sup>12</sup>

Beginning in 1916, Keelty made a series of purchases which outflanked the existing developments at the top and bottom of the hill. By 1922 he had gained control of most of the land along Edmondson Avenue not yet developed; in 1926 he acquired the entire Gelston estate on the north; and in 1928 he purchased the old Lyndhurst estate on the northwest.<sup>13</sup> With these acquisitions, Keelty controlled two-thirds of the land in the future rowhouse community.

In advertisements for his houses, he proudly referred to himself as “James Keelty, The Builder.” Born in Ireland in 1869, brought to Baltimore by his parents as a child of 10 or 11, and educated in the Hibernian Free School, Keelty started off as a stonemason, but soon began to build two-story rowhouses on his own. After his first projects along Calvert and Greenmount in the central portions of the city, in 1908 he turned to the western side, constructing two-story, buff-brick swell fronts in the 2300 blocks of West Fayette and West Baltimore Streets. Next he moved farther out to the growing Poplar Grove area along Mosher, Riggs, and Dukeland in the teens, where many of his houses had stone porch fronts and upper bays. Having purchased the land along Edmondson on the next hill west, Keelty began to develop it in the early twenties. By 1930 Keelty houses occupied approximately 50 square blocks of the Edmondson area; ten years later the greatest part of the 1584 housing units had been his construction.<sup>14</sup>

While Keelty’s developments were substantial, there was nothing particularly unique about either his enterprise or his

product. Nevertheless, Keelty houses of the 1920s and 1930s represented the apex of Baltimore rowhouse development for middle income neighborhoods. In the mid-1910s builders had begun to advertise an innovation in rowhouse design, the “daylight” or “sunlight” house. Soon daylight houses were all the rage, with one builder trying to capitalize on the fad in an ad by having a wife coo, “Oh, Dickie, dear, let’s buy one of these ‘bright in every corner’ houses.”<sup>15</sup> The distinctive feature of the daylight houses was that each room indeed did have at least one outside window. Conventional, earlier two-story rows had one or two “blind” rooms in the center, though sometimes a skylight was added to give light to a central room upstairs. Houses of the older type built on the west side just prior to the new innovation typically had 14 foot widths and depths of 45–50 feet.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, a typical Keelty daylight of the early ’20s had a front 20 to 22 feet wide and a depth of approximately 35 feet. Upstairs each of the three or four bedrooms had at least one window, while downstairs an entry hall with stairs and spacious living room occupied the front, and the dining room and kitchen both had windows to the rear. For the consumer, the daylight modification of the rowhouse meant a spacious, pleasant housing interior while still at a modest cost that made homeownership possible for middle income people. For the developer, the slight decrease in density (in the Edmondson area, for example, two daylights occupied approximately the same amount of frontage [40 to 44 feet] as three of the conventional rows [42 feet]) still allowed many of the economies of rowhouse construction—shared walls, common utility lines, and simultaneous erection. Sherry Olson has pointed out that progressive-era concern about older, narrower urban housing designs, with their lack of light and air, had created a climate of opinion receptive to the wider, daylight styles as a housing reform, a trend underwritten by a series of progressive municipal building codes.<sup>17</sup> When demand for new housing became intense in the post-World War I period—new housing had been virtually halted during the war—it was the new daylight form



FIGURE 2.

Keelty daylight-type rowhouses, built in the early 1920s in the 600 block of Grantley Street. With front widths of 20 feet and depths of 35 feet, each room had an outside window.

that consumers demanded.<sup>18</sup> Just beginning his Edmondson area development at precisely the moment when these several trends converged, Keelty switched to the new style, daylight rows marching up the Edmondson hill, block by block [See Figures 1–4].

Though Keelty's Edmondson rowhouses of the early to mid-1920s were solid and spacious, if modest, adaptations of the daylight type, his crowning version came in the late 1920s and the 1930s in "Wildwood," the name he gave developments on the extensive land tracts which had been the Gelston and Lyndhurst estates. An "upgraded" form of the basic daylight box, these dwellings were billed as "English type," distinguished from the earlier homes primarily by slightly more spacious dimensions (some were 22 by 37 feet, with an additional half-story in a gabled attic), "quality" features (such as slate roofs, cop-

per spouting, tile porches, and fireplaces), and architectural variation (gabled roofs, red Tudor-type brickwork, and architectural variety within the row). [See Figure 5] William Joynes, whose family moved into a Keelty-built house on Norman (later Normandy) Avenue in 1921, recalls his reaction as a boy to the new Wildwood homes across Edmondson:

The houses in Wildwood, we heard at the time, were supposed to be Keelty's best. I guess he started and made money, and then when he got to Wildwood, he upgraded the houses. I had a couple of boy friends who were in the Scout troop [and lived] there, and I can remember going in their houses, and they had a third story attic that was finished off, and I thought this would be great, to have a play room or study up there, which our houses didn't have.<sup>19</sup>

Keelty ads for Wildwood, "Baltimore's newest suburban development," once more



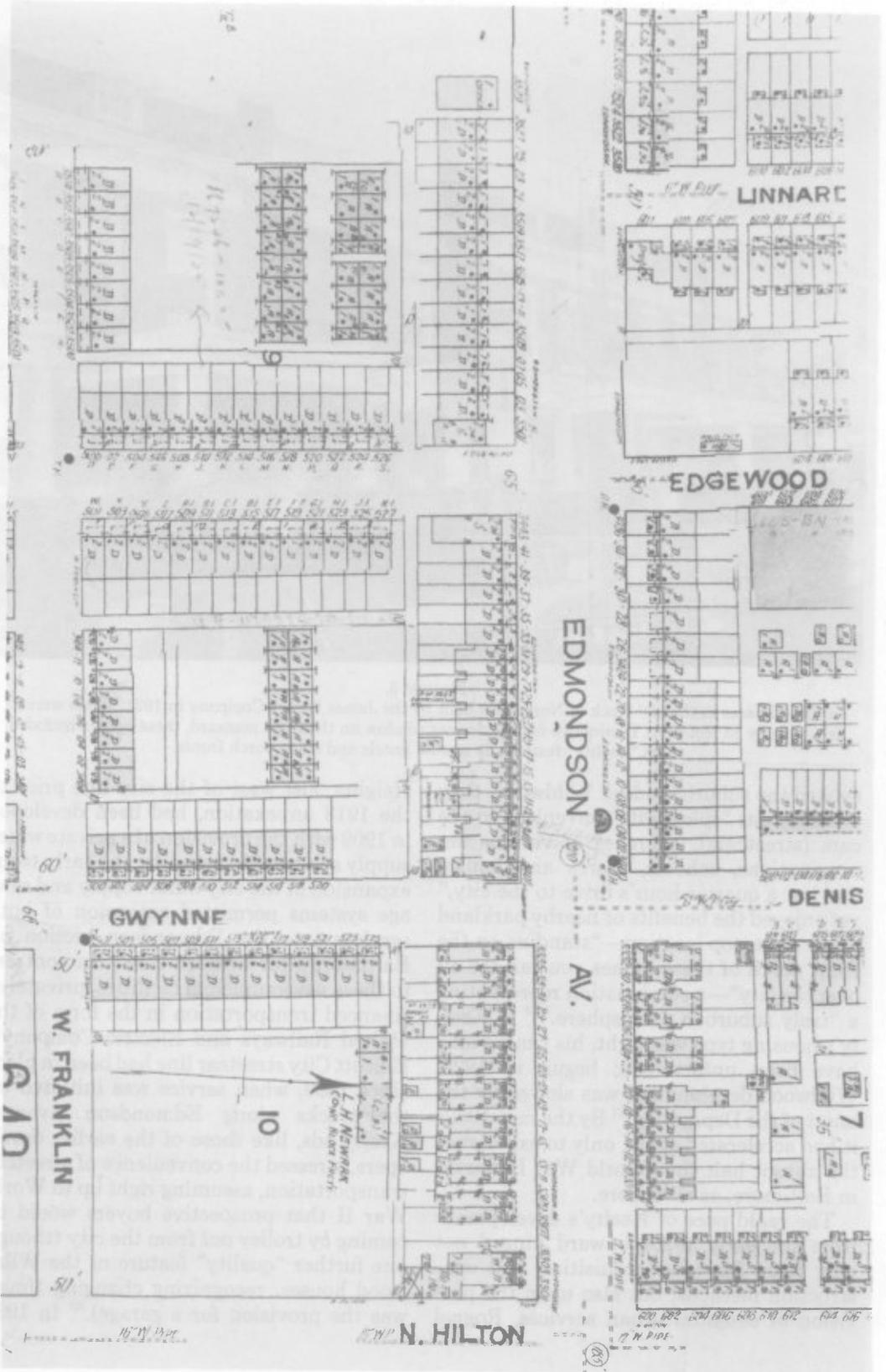
FIGURE 3.

Daylight houses in the 500 block of Normandy built by the James Keelty Company in 1921. These were 21 feet wide by 35 feet deep. Distinctive for the dormer window on the front mansard, these houses included such “quality” features as marble lintels and stone porch fronts.

evoked the suburban ideal: Wildwood, they boasted, was “splendidly convenient to the cars [streetcars], churches of various denominations, schools, stores and banks, and but a quarter hour’s drive to the city,” yet enjoyed the benefits of nearby parkland and a ridge-top location—“standing on the front porch of these homes you can see all over the city”—a combination representing a “truly suburban atmosphere.”<sup>20</sup> If Keelty’s housing type was right, his timing may have been unfortunate; begun in 1928, Wildwood development was slowed by the onset of the Depression.<sup>21</sup> By the mid-1930s it had accelerated again, only to experience the abrupt halt that World War II caused in Baltimore, as elsewhere.

The rapid pace of Keelty’s development from the early 1920s onward hinged not only upon his land acquisition and construction methods, but also upon the provision of essential urban services. Rognel

Heights, just west of the city line prior to the 1918 annexation, had been developed in 1909 with the provision of a private water supply system. However, by the early teens expansion of the city water supply and sewage systems permitted extension of both services into the Edmondson section on Baltimore’s far western side.<sup>22</sup> In contrast to these new municipal facilities, privately-financed transportation in the form of the United Railways and Electric Company’s Ellicott City streetcar line had been in place since 1899, when service was initiated on the tracks along Edmondson Avenue. Keelty ads, like those of the earlier developers, stressed the convenience of streetcar transportation, assuming right up to World War II that prospective buyers would be coming *by trolley out* from the city (though one further “quality” feature of the Wildwood houses, recognizing changing times, was the provision for a garage).<sup>23</sup> In 1932



Baltimore City officials opened an additional span over the Gwynns Falls, the new West Baltimore Street concrete bridge, Mayor Howard W. Jackson noting the connection between public works and private investment:

The opening of this bridge marks an important step in the further development of this section of the city. The Gwynn's Falls Valley for many years has been a natural barrier to quick communication between the older section of the city to the east of the valley and that evergrowing section to the west.<sup>24</sup>

Keelty not only built rapidly and extensively; he also apparently built well. "Keelty built" homes became a hallmark of quality construction on the west side, a trademark "The Builder" prided himself for. No absentee landlord, he continued to maintain his office within the community throughout the period. Demonstrating a paternalistic interest in the new neighborhood he had built, he contributed the cost of the sanctuary for the new St. Bernadine's Roman Catholic Church as a memorial to his young, recently deceased daughter [See Figure 6]. One striking feature of Keelty's developments was the high rate of homeownership, a point to be developed later. And it is generally conceded that he offered a quality product at a relatively low cost. Creation of ground rent aided greatly in the process, a mechanism in Maryland state law which benefitted both the consumer by reducing the amount of the mortgage and the developer for whom it often represented the margin of profit.<sup>25</sup>

But rowhouse developers like Keelty were not simply selling houses; they were selling a "housing package." Location, cost, house type, and size—all were determinants of the market whose housing needs would be met and, therefore, of the social character of the community that would form.<sup>26</sup> In many ways the most telling promise of Edmondson's "suburban atmosphere" was more apparent in result than in billing: a remarkable degree of social homogeneity. Keelty had built a community whose social character was as regular as the regular brick fronts of his two-story houses.

## II. THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THE NEW ROWHOUSE COMMUNITY

If the Keelty "daylights" represented the apex of urban rowhouse living for middle income residents, their appearance on the market right after World War I could not have been more opportune in terms of population growth and housing needs. During the decade from 1910 to 1920 the city's population had increased precipitously at a rate of 31 per cent, producing consequent pressure upon housing. Janet Kemp's 1907 study of *Housing Conditions in Baltimore* chronicled a growing urban housing crisis, particularly documenting the degree of overcrowding and unhealthy conditions in districts where blacks and new foreign-born immigrants were concentrated. In the early 'teens concern for such conditions led to passage of a series of racial residential segregation ordinances by Baltimore's City Council and its politically "progressive" mayor, though the legislation subsequently failed constitutional tests. These circum-

FIGURE 4.

The Edmondson Avenue area in this 1927 Sanborn insurance map exhibits the mixture of rowhouse types in the 1910s and 1920s. Houses in the 3300 block of Edmondson were built during the 1910s, prior to James Keelty's development of the area. Those on the north side, from 3308 to 3320 (depicted in Figure 1), are of the "areaway" type, with the passage separating the rear of the houses between every pair. Next to them (3322-3332) and across the street (3307-3333) are duplexes, each pair separated from adjoining houses by a narrow passage extending the length of the structure. Both types share the narrow fronts and long depths of the earlier rowhouse style. The 3400 block illustrates the transition in styles in an early Keelty-built section, from the narrow fronts of 3400-3422 to the wider, squarer "daylights" on the western end of the block (3424-3436). Comparison of the two types indicates that the ratio of frontage required for the daylight as opposed to the narrower fronts was approximately 2 to 3. Keelty daylights are also evident along the 3500 block of Edmondson, south side, and on both sides of Edgewood. Note the garages (marked "A") behind Edmondson and Edgewood; located in the middle of some of the blocks in this period, these could be purchased or rented by the minority with automobiles.

(Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of Baltimore, Md.*, vol. 6 [1914; updated to 1927]. Reproduced with permission, from the collection of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland.)



FIGURE 5.

Early Keelty "English type" rowhouses in the Wildwood development, advertised in 1928. Dormers, gabled porches, and sloping slate roofs characterized the Wildwood houses. With dimensions of 22 by 37, these included a half-story attic and a garage in the rear. These rowhouses are in the 600 block of Wildwood Parkway.

stances presaged a sizable white exodus to the periphery, including the large portion of land added to the city after the annexation of 1918.<sup>27</sup> Housing developments like those along Edmondson would function to siphon off from older, densely settled areas that segment of the urban populace able and willing to make the move. In this late period of streetcar suburbanization, physical space increasingly corresponded with social class.

For the Edmondson area, change was the order of the day as the community absorbed high rates of population growth. During the 1920s the population total there quadrupled, and even during the economic hard times of the 1930s it experienced a 31 per cent increase. As William Joynes put it, "there were people moving in all the time; . . . they were always building houses."<sup>28</sup> Not only was in-migration strong and

steady, but a substantial number of settlers were in the young family-forming stages, so that new births added to the total. Indeed, population gains from these two sources were of such magnitude that they more than offset the losses due to death and more than compensated for the steady 29 per cent *out*-migration rate (measured per decade) during the same period.<sup>29</sup>

Yet, as remarkable as the degree of change was the degree of residential longevity. In 1930, for example, 68 per cent of those on the sample blocks had lived there for five years or more, and 82 per cent were first residents in their dwellings. By 1940 a strikingly high 91.5 per cent had lived in their present homes for five years or more, 62 per cent being first residents, 38 per cent second, and no housing having yet turned over to a third resident.<sup>30</sup> While this degree of residential permanence suggested an ap-

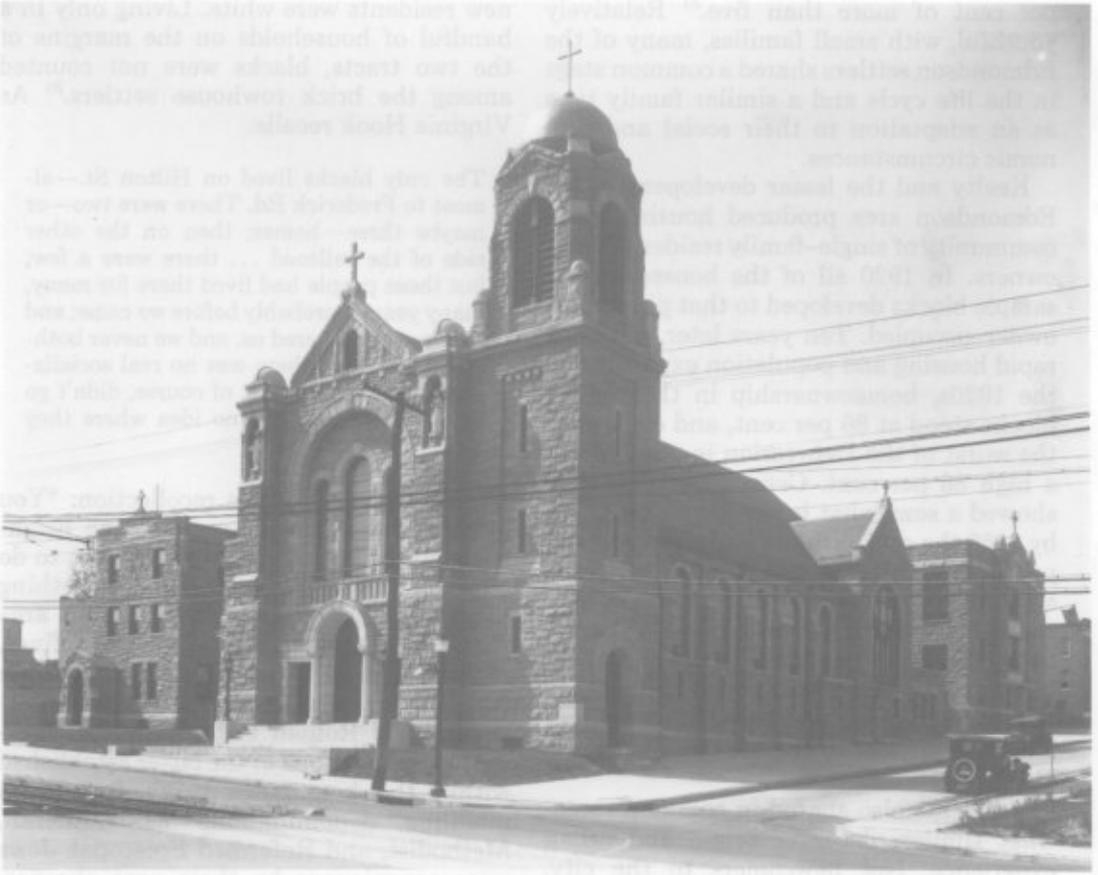


FIGURE 6.

St. Bernardine's Roman Catholic Church, c. 1929, Edmondson Avenue and Mt. Holly St. Begun in 1928 and completed the next year, the sanctuary of the new church was contributed as a memorial by the James Keilty family. Photo courtesy of the Peale Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.

parent high level of satisfaction, it also in a subtle way was a further source of change, because the eventual result would be an aging population, a factor still masked in this period by the continuing in-migration of young adults and expansion of the housing stock.

In a setting of considerable movement and flux, however, the social homogeneity of the new settlers provided a clear definition of the community and acted in a powerful way to provide a sense of "stability," which was the overwhelming retrospective perception of those interviewed for the study. If new settlers lacked prior contact, they nevertheless shared remarkable similarities when it came to such matters as age and family status; homeownership; place of

origin and prior urban experience; racial, ethnic, and religious identification; and occupational level. These were the ingredients that seemed to provide a basis for community in the new context.

By population count young adults (aged 25 through 44) predominated in the new community, setting the norm as one of modest-sized nuclear families. Though their children represented a sizable contingent in the neighborhood and gave it a youthful cast, those from birth to 20 actually numbered fewer than their parents' generation, both in 1930 and in 1940. In that latter year census data showed that 58 per cent of all households consisted of three to five members, while only three per cent were composed of one person and only 10

per cent of more than five.<sup>31</sup> Relatively youthful, with small families, many of the Edmondson settlers shared a common stage in the life cycle and a similar family type as an adaptation to their social and economic circumstances.

Keelty and the lesser developers in the Edmondson area produced housing for a community of single-family resident homeowners. In 1920 all of the houses on the sample blocks developed to that point were owner-occupied. Ten years later, after the rapid housing and population expansion of the 1920s, homeownership in the sample blocks stood at 86 per cent, and even after the worst of the Depression in 1940 it was a high 80 per cent. Census data for 1940 showed a somewhat lower 63 per cent, but by 1950 the census figure had climbed to 76 per cent (while in the sample it was a striking 96 per cent).<sup>32</sup> Of course, many of the Edmondson residents listed as homeowners were, in fact, only in the process of buying their homes, a financial burden they shared in common and one that sometimes led them to refer to the area as "Mortgage Hill."<sup>33</sup>

Residents also shared in common somewhat similar places of origin and urban experience. Not newcomers to the city, most were moving from prior residence in older Baltimore neighborhoods. In many cases residents in the early period migrated from older neighborhoods nearer the center city which had undergone considerable population growth during the 1910s (and subsequently), especially for blacks or European immigrants. The sample block data for 1920, 1930, and 1940 shows relatively even streams of migrants from 1) areas of West Baltimore immediately east of the Edmondson district, 2) Old West Baltimore (from the city's center to Fulton Street), 3) South Baltimore, and 4) East Baltimore.<sup>34</sup> With population density producing pressures upon the aging housing stock in those areas, as well as creating new strains of heterogeneity, movement was one solution—but one available only to those able to afford to purchase a single family dwelling, even at a modest cost.

Regarding race, the social definition of the new neighborhood was near absolute:

new residents were white. Living only in a handful of households on the margins of the two tracts, blacks were not counted among the brick rowhouse settlers.<sup>35</sup> As Virginia Hook recalls:

The only blacks lived on Hilton St.—almost to Frederick Rd. There were two—or maybe three—homes; then on the other side of the railroad . . . there were a few; but those people had lived there for many, many years—probably before we came; and they never bothered us, and we never bothered them. But there was no real socializing—and the children, of course, didn't go to our school; I have no idea where they went to school.

Or, in Virginia Vargo's recollection: "You just didn't see black people in the neighborhood, except women who came in to do day work or delivery men, or something like that. They just didn't live in the area then."<sup>36</sup> If race was an absolute definer, religion was less so, and ethnicity only a trace. The emerging community was overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and Protestant, congregations of the latter established within the boundaries being from such mainline denominations as Lutheran, Methodist, and Reformed Episcopal. Jews were conspicuous by their near absence, whether due to choice or exclusion. Among the early settlers German names stand out slightly more prominently numerically, with Irish perhaps second, but in most cases ethnic ties appeared not to be strong. Very few settlers were first generation immigrants; while some were second generation, most would have been third and beyond. If ethnic ties once had been important, they had been left behind in the old neighborhood.<sup>37</sup>

High homeownership; similarities in place of origin and prior urban experience; racial, ethnic, and religious homogeneity—all contributed in important ways to the social definition of the emerging rowhouse community. Yet, no factor was more important in that definition than occupational level. Social historians in recent years rightly have been cautious about hierarchical rankings of occupation as well as about judgments regarding "upward" and "downward" mobility based upon those

rankings.<sup>38</sup> However, occupational level clearly has a variety of consequences, not least of which is income. And income and occupation, taken together, may have far-reaching influences upon such other dimensions of social life as social status, life-style, aspiration, and opportunity.<sup>39</sup> At the very least, the occupational profile of a neighborhood provides some indication of its socioeconomic diversity or homogeneity. Moreover, comparison of occupational level and/or changes in a given community with trends in the national and metropolitan work force may provide some indication of how residents of that neighborhood fit in the larger social and economic context.

What is most striking about the new rowhouse Edmondson community was the concentration of occupational types in several middle-level categories and the way in which that configuration persisted over time with little change, even as older families matured or moved away and new families moved in. Perhaps no other social factor contributed so greatly to the perceived stability of the neighborhood: individuals might come and go, but occupational types remained the same. The occupational profile that emerged with the first household heads in 1920 (in the sample block data) was one strongly concentrated in four areas: sales, clerical, craftsmen (skilled trades), and manufacturing operatives. On the one hand, there were few in credentialed professional or upper managerial capacities, though there were some in middle

management; on the other, Edmondson was not a community of laborers, service workers, or domestics. [See Table 1]<sup>40</sup> With only slight variation, this was the occupational pattern that persisted for the rest of the community's history—even into the later period of racial change.

According to the block data, during the 1920s the percentage in managerial positions increased somewhat and those in crafts positions to a greater extent, but after the Depression decade of the 1930s the balance evened out once more. While the block study is only a sample limited to household heads, census tract data for 1940 on all persons in the neighborhood confirms the pattern, though it shows even more level distribution among sales-clerical (grouped together in that report), craftsmen, and operative categories (the latter being somewhat underrepresented in the sample block data).<sup>41</sup> Perhaps more clearly than the sample, the census emphasized the middle-level occupational profile in the neighborhood.

Conspicuous by their near absence in the paid work force were the community's women. The sample data, limited to household heads and based primarily upon city directories, suggests only a few instances where widows or adult daughters living at home were employed, though city directories do not provide an adequate picture of women's employment.<sup>42</sup> The 1940 census tract data paints a more complete portrait of women's role in the Edmondson work

TABLE 1.  
Occupational Profile, 1920-1940

	Sample Block Data			Census Data			
	1920	1930	1940	1940 (Edmondson)		1940 (Citywide)	
				Male	Total	Male	Total
Professional	7%	2%	8%	5.5%	7.6%	4.4%	7.7%
Managerial	—	14	17	6.6	9.2	7.4	8.3
Sales/Clerical	33	24	34	22.8	40.0	23.4	22.5
Sales	13	8	10				
Clerical	20	16	24				
Craftsmen	27	37	24	16.1	16.6	13.9	14.4
Operatives	27	14	5	12.0	16.3	14.6	20.0
Laborers	—	4	—	1.9	1.9	9.4	9.7
Service	—	6	12	4.9	6.9	6.3	9.9
Domestic	—	—	—	—	.5	.4	6.6

force, one that apparently had begun to increase. In that year women constituted 27.5 per cent of those employed, with their greatest concentration in the sales-clerical category and very small participation in others.<sup>43</sup>

The 1940 census also provides an opportunity to compare the Edmondson area work force with that of the city as a whole. At first glance, the very "middle level" profile of the neighborhood is reflected in the way that it closely mirrors the city-wide averages. In this sense Edmondson might be considered a "typical" Baltimore neighborhood. Yet, in a city where place of residence was becoming highly differentiated along lines of race, class, and religious or ethnic identification, neighborhood occupational profiles were likely to be much more skewed toward certain categories than others. Therefore, the concentration of Edmondson's jobs in the center illustrated its own peculiar identity rather than its typicality. Together with other developing rowhouse and detached house communities, it played a middle-level role increasingly set off from older, more heterogeneous neighborhoods by a social definition in which occupation and social class were closely linked.<sup>44</sup>

Two related phenomena were operating upon the work force in cities like Baltimore, both with consequences for neighborhood structure. First, rapid growth across the spectrum of occupational possibilities had expanded the total number of urban jobs considerably, particularly on the eve of Edmondson's initial development.<sup>45</sup> Had no other changes occurred at all, this expansion would have provided a pool of residents who might have spilled over from older, existing neighborhoods into the newly developing rowhouse suburbs. Insofar as occupation and income were correlated, the cost of new housing would have acted as an economic filter channeling the expanded work force into particular new residential choices. But accompanying work force expansion, and somewhat marked by increases across the job spectrum, was a major shift underway in the character of the work force. Involved was the dramatic transition from a labor-intensive manufactur-

ing process, requiring a combination of skilled artisans and less skilled laborers to a mass, machine production system, requiring large numbers of semi-skilled operatives and the accompanying growth of the bureaucratic, marketing, and consumer-service structures necessitated by such a change. Edmondson's workers filled these latter ranks. Sellers of goods, clerks in large establishments (both business and government), repairers and installers of consumer goods, or machinists skilled in facilitating the production process—by and large, these were neither the skilled artisan producers of the past nor the mass production operatives needed in such large numbers in the present. In this sense Edmondson's residents were indeed a new, middle class, a mix of those engaged in the sales, clerical, crafts, and manufacturing positions of an increasingly consumer-oriented economy.

If they constituted a new, expanding middle-class occupational profile, were they themselves newcomers to those groupings? The sample block data indicates that throughout the period under consideration those moving into the Edmondson area had not made a recent change in occupational category. The majority of new residents simply were settling in a neighborhood where occupational level was remarkably similar to their own. For the minority, who had made a recent change in work, it usually was a modest one, in almost all cases along a continuum from unskilled to skilled, from manual to nonmanual, or from employee to supervisor or professional—all in a direction that a middle-class culture would have interpreted as "upward" mobility.<sup>46</sup> Once settled, the same pattern held during the period of tenure for Edmondson residents: 1) a predominance of occupational stability, and 2) a tendency for change, when it occurred, to proceed along the same continuum, almost never the reverse. However, opportunity for change tended not to increase over time; if anything, it may have declined slightly during the period, not surprising during the Depression decade, but somewhat more significant in the post-war boom era.<sup>47</sup> Occupational stability and "upward mobility" both were consistent with the national

faith, and both were more likely to be privileges of the middle class than of those whose occupational experience was more marginal. Even though actual rates of opportunity for change may have been lessening, these expectations, no doubt, contributed to the image of a stable, prosperous neighborhood.<sup>48</sup>

These observations regarding occupation tend to be borne out by the limited data available on income level. In 1950 (the first census year in which income was reported at the tract level) median income for the area surpassed the total city figure in the section north of Edmondson Avenue (census tract 16-8) by 44 per cent and in the section south of the avenue (census tract 20-7) by 32 per cent. As another indicator of economic status, the median value of Edmondson area homes in 1940 exceeded the citywide median by 15 to 21 per cent (in the two tracts, respectively) and in 1950 by 16 to 28 per cent. Occupational level and income clearly had a close correlation, providing the economic base for the middle level community.<sup>49</sup>

Amidst the considerable change due to rapid and substantial development, it was the social homogeneity of the new neighborhood that gave it definition and that contributed in a significant way to the perception of stability. Parents with young families, homeowners, first-generation suburbanites, sharing similar social identifications, Edmondson residents were representatives of a new, growing class in cities like Baltimore. While the particular occupational mix gave some definition that may have distinguished the housing on the hill from other developing sections of the city, in general the middle-level occupations prevalent in the Edmondson area were those of a new consumer-oriented economy, and Edmondson's workers were its functionaries. Even as older residents moved away or died and newer residents took their places, the social character of the settlers in the Keelty-built neighborhood remained remarkably the same.

### III. COMMUNITY AND CULTURE IN THE NEW ROWHOUSE NEIGHBORHOOD

In many ways the streetcar epitomized the character of the new rowhouse com-

munity's culture. Every morning most men took it out of the neighborhood to their places of work; once a week or so women rode it downtown to do their major shopping; and when children reached their early teens, they travelled on it to high schools elsewhere in the city. Work, shopping, school, home—to a great extent these functioned as separate spheres, segregated along lines of gender and age and operating in distinctly defined physical spaces. Just as surely, the physical isolation of the new neighborhood and its social homogeneity walled it off from the diversity as well as the historic roots of the larger metropolitan area, just a short streetcar ride away.<sup>50</sup> If the Edmondson area was a version of the emerging middle-class equation, then differentiation seemed to be one important corollary. Separate it was, but was it secure?

As a brand new residential area, the streetcar suburb lacked many of the historic bases associated with community cohesion. Indeed, one is struck by the general absence of community organizations and institutions (other than the churches), or even commercial activities, a lack paralleled by the corresponding absence of collective rituals and traditions, as might commonly be expected with any new development. Nevertheless, social homogeneity mirrored an apparent sense of cultural homogeneity. The new Edmondson residents appeared to share levels of collective identity, common understandings, and shared values, which, taken together, functioned to provide some of the structures for coping with the segmentation and novelty of the community.<sup>51</sup> They felt that community to be stable and themselves to be secure because in many ways they were "like" one another. An exchange with a former resident illustrates this perception:

We moved there in the spring, and in the fall I started to school, and I only went to school three days, and they were building the houses on Edgewood Street. [Did that change the neighborhood much?] No, because you knew those people, too.<sup>52</sup>

Yet, as a basis for community, social homogeneity—and its reflection in cultural homogeneity—was extremely one-dimen-

sional. And in an urban area where an increasing number of people were socially and culturally "not like us," it could prove to be both illusory and, ultimately, quite fragile.

Names and boundaries are significant for the way in which they reveal levels of collective identity and identification.<sup>53</sup> Interviews with former residents from the period under consideration produce no single, commonly-agreed upon name prior to the erection of the Edmondson Village Shopping Center after World War II, which eventually provided an appellation widely accepted.<sup>54</sup> Portions of the development were given names by the developer—"Lyndhurst" and "Wildwood" by Keely and "Allendale" by another builder—but for some reason none of these seemed to stick, nor were the boundaries between them all that distinct. But if the community's name was vague, its boundaries were quite clear in people's perceptions. Natural barriers to the east and north (the wooded ravine cut by the Gwynns Falls valley which had been designated parkland) and a cemetery on the southeast distinctly limited areas where rowhouse settlement touched adjoining inhabited areas. On the south, where such barriers were absent, social distinctions differentiated the area from the older streetcar suburb of Irvington; similarly, to the immediate west, Roguel Heights, with its frame detached houses, was considered somewhat distinct, and more so were the spacious lots and larger houses of Hunting Ridge and Ten Hills beyond. For an area so clearly demarcated in people's perceptions, its lack of a clear name is surprising. Did it suggest that the new community lacked historical connection with its past (as indeed it did); a natural, physical meeting point or focus, such as a major crossroad or village center (as indeed it did); any strong political or social organizations (as indeed it did); or a degree of self-sufficiency socially and economically (as indeed it did)?

To try to assess the degree of common understanding within a community is to examine the degree to which cultural beliefs are translated into collective behavior, or, conversely, to reason from behavior to the

cultural beliefs underlying it. While, in many ways, the Edmondson community culture would have mirrored the larger national culture, mediated through such increasingly important channels as popular mass media, and perhaps not have differed substantially from other urban variations, it nevertheless is instructive to consider the particular shape those beliefs took in a newly-formed community with the social characteristics so clearly identified. To a great extent, this was a culture in which gender and age groups each had their defined roles, spheres, and institutions—distinctions undergirded by cultural beliefs.

Men's role was employment, and employment universally took them out of the neighborhood. There they encountered the diversity of urban types not present in the residential community, but they did so from a vantage point marked by relative occupational stability, even security. If few would make dramatic occupational changes that might be interpreted as advancement, fewer would view their career as a downward occupational mobility. Most worked in relatively large corporate settings, whether as part of the bureaucratic or industrial process. Typical employers included McCormick's Spices, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the Baltimore Gas and Electric Company, Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone, Baltimore Transit, Hutzler's Department Store, Sun Life Insurance, the Post Office, etc. A minority worked in small shops or businesses or, in the case of craftsmen, in the construction and repair trades—though usually not in a business of their own. Almost none were independent artisans, proprietors, or professionals. If the passage of time has not affected the memory of interviewees on this point, the province of men's work was something not widely shared with other family members. Moreover, considerable deference might be paid to the father upon his return home from the world of work. Whether typical, one interview was particularly interesting on this point:

In the summer when everybody would be outside playing, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, not only my mother but most of the mothers would round up the children and

bring us in and make us take baths, wash hair, and put on clean clothes, so that when our father came home we looked presentable—because they very much believed that if the father had to go out all day and put up with whatever he had to put up with, which was never mentioned, by the way—you assumed that your father was somehow really suffering at his office, whatever he was doing, you knew that he worked all the time, every minute, he was really in there slugging away—and when he came home at the end of the day, the least you could do was look presentable for him.<sup>55</sup>

Apparently, men's roles in the community were defined by a rather clear cultural ideal.<sup>56</sup>

While the role of men might have been exceptional only in the particular occupational configuration and in the cultural attitudes engendered for family relations, the role of women was more narrowly a corollary of socioeconomic status. The proscription against married women with children working outside the home took on the aspect of a cultural code in the new rowhouse community. The following interchange from interviews is so typical that it sums up this clear cultural ideal:

*Now, what about both of your mothers; did they work at home, or . . . ?*

Eloise Home!

Milburn

and

Catherine

Edgar:

Edgar: Home, my gracious!

Milburn: Mothers didn't work back then.

My mother didn't work—ever

...<sup>57</sup>

As a cultural ideal of the period, the attitude toward women's roles is not particularly surprising. What is striking is the degree to which it was maintained and the fact that it *could* be maintained so widely. In many cases Edmondson residents had come from neighborhoods where larger percentages of women worked—perhaps had to work—outside the home or from family backgrounds in which married female members previously may have had to do so. Clearly, the housewife-only role was a privilege not available to all socioeconomic classes, and it appears to have been inter-

preted as a badge of middle-class status by Edmondson's populace.<sup>58</sup>

If father's province was the workplace, mother's was the home. Supposedly freed from any prospect of outside employment, she was to devote fulltime to housekeeping, childcare, shopping, and volunteer activities such as church and school. Two interviewees reflected on how totally their mothers regarded the kitchen as their preserve:

Catherine My mother never allowed me in the kitchen. When I got married, I didn't even know how to make a cup of coffee. She never allowed me in the kitchen.

Eloise Mother . . . used to say, it's too much trouble, let me do it, and when I'd measure anything, she would say, you don't have to have a [measuring] cup; just take any cup. And I'd say, but it's not the same. Oh, my heavens, she just laughed at me, and she'd say, oh, I'll never learn. And even when I got married, she would let me cook, but she'd say, now when you're ready to make the gravy, you don't know how to make it, so I'll make it. She always said that.<sup>59</sup>

Living within a somewhat isolated residential area, with few other facilities or activities available within its boundaries, women had very limited opportunities for contact that transcended those of community and block.<sup>60</sup>

With a predominantly young family profile, children were a substantial ingredient in the Edmondson community and a correspondingly important element in the cultural definition of roles. Elementary schools were neighborhood-based, but public and parochial institutions reinforced divided religious affiliations, to some degree channeling friendship patterns. It was not until high school that Edmondson area young people left the local environs for an educational setting which brought them into contact with those from other neighborhoods, usually on a basis segregated by gender, race, and, to some degree, class. Though leisure activities were an increasingly important phenomenon of a developing teenage culture, there was "nothing to

do" in the neighborhood, a void only partially filled by sports activities and the opening of a local movie theater. It was primarily the churches which stepped into the breach, maintaining recreation or teen centers.<sup>61</sup> In this period the teenage role ended abruptly at the conclusion of high school education, with employment, marriage, and an independent household as expected norms.<sup>62</sup>

If roles were highly differentiated across lines of gender and age, with significant portions of individual experience relegated to separate institutions, physical spaces, and sets of social contacts, it was the family unit and the community which somehow had to draw these together. It is difficult to evaluate how well either performed this task, but several observations are in order. First, families, by and large, were isolated from nearby kinship networks. Second, except for the fledgling churches, there were few established institutional supports for the family unit and few social outlets for men, women, or youth within the community. Finally, in a brand new residential neighborhood, there were few precedents, traditions, or guideposts to set the tone of community life. It might be assumed that these factors, taken together, would place considerable responsibility, even pressure, upon the nuclear family.

Yet, it is the uniformity, rather than diversity of cultural norms and values, that stands out in the examination of this formative period in the rowhouse community's history. Since these did not derive from the particular place, it must be assumed that they were the distillation of common experience, influenced by such factors as mass culture, family background and experience, and prior cultural experience, applied in a particular setting in a similar way by people sharing a common social definition which found expression in a set of shared values.

To a great extent the community which the new families brought into being and whose shared culture gave them sustenance and support was a mirror of themselves and their collective experience. Seeking new residence in a new suburban locale, physically set apart from other sections of the city, they found it in the clearly defined

physical and social boundaries of the Edmondson area. First generation suburbanites with prior urban experience in older neighborhoods, they discovered others with similar backgrounds. Middle level on the occupational continuum in a Baltimore economy where their ranks were swelling, they settled into houses next to neighbors who were more likely than not to share very similar job types and economic status. Predominantly young and family-forming, they could expect others on the street to share the same stages of the family cycle. The consequence of so much shared experience and situation was a community whose culture represented a strong strain toward consistency and uniformity—even conformity. That tendency was particularly evident in the steadfastness with which gender and age roles were defined in this formative period. It was as if an unwritten cultural code provided stability and security in a situation which, in fact, was novel and ever-changing. In this community culture, similarity bred familiarity:

Eloise Oh yes, we knew everybody. I  
Milburn: knew people in her block, the  
3300 block, and all the people  
across from us, and on our side,  
I knew those people. We knew  
everybody's name . . . We even  
knew people that lived way  
down on that other side.

Catherine Everybody was so helpful. If  
Edgar: anybody would get sick, you'd  
always go and help them out.  
And I know at our house at  
Christmas we always had open  
house, and my mother on her  
dining room table would have  
this big punch bowl of egg nog,  
and everybody would go to Elsie's  
for egg nog for Christmas.  
And you always visited your  
neighbors for Christmas. Every  
neighbor would give a party.  
But my mother always had hers  
on Christmas day, because she  
had to be home; all the family  
would be coming. But we were  
very close, all the neighbors.

Virginia They would get together, for ex-  
Vargo: ample, on the 4th of July in the  
backyard . . . She was friendly  
with her neighbors, and on

Christmas day it was the tradition, on my block at least, that you went to visit your neighbors—you went to church, and when you came home you went to visit your neighbors, and had a toddy, or something; and then you went home and had your afternoon and evening with your family.<sup>63</sup>

It is always difficult to measure such qualities as "closeness," particularly when viewed in considerable retrospect. Yet, streetcar rowhouse living in the new Edmondson area appears to have engendered a degree of neighborly relations and a common culture that was an important and satisfying context for area residents.

As remarkable as this consistency of the social and cultural character of the neighborhood Keelty built, was the rapidity with which it crumbled in the face of racial change in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when virtually its entire population changed places in a period of less than a decade.<sup>64</sup> While that development lies outside the purview of this article's scope and is the subject of the author's ongoing research, it does necessitate a closer scrutiny that extends beneath what might otherwise appear to be a nostalgic paen to an earlier era. Clearly, a social definition which white residents took to be the basis for stability and security was, in fact, quite fragile. Capable of absorbing large volumes of change as long as it conformed to a very narrow conception of social homogeneity, it represented a one-dimensional basis for community which depended upon walling some in and others out. Essentially, it was insular and defensive—naively, if not consciously so. The community's unreceptivity to racial difference hinted at possible other levels of lack of tolerance for deviance or diversity. In the final analysis, the sense of stability and security, which Edmondson residents shared, proved to be illusory. As Virginia Vargo put it, in explaining the reaction of neighborhood people to racial change, "They saw a very secure world changing very drastically, and they couldn't accept it."<sup>65</sup>

Ultimately, the very process of urban differentiation which gave birth to the Ed-

mondson area as a white rowhouse enclave also accounted for its demise, as its constituency so rapidly and so absolutely changed hue. Yet, ironically, when it did so, its social character remained essentially the same. The new black residents, like the white residents before them, were predominantly first generation suburbanites, homeowners, parents in the family-forming stages, and workers in virtually the same middle-level occupational configuration. Moreover, Keelty's housing served the needs of a new group of settlers whose quest for security and community remarkably resembled those who had preceded them. The more the Edmondson area had changed, the more it had stayed the same: a highly differentiated factor in Baltimore's twentieth-century urban equation.

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3. See, for example, Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964) and *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973); Peter R. Knights, *The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860: A Study in City Growth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975); and Howard Chudacoff, *Mobile Americans: Residential and Social Mobility in Omaha, 1880-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972) for influential statements of this view. Knights, for example, observed: "Movement, mobility, shifts, change—these words can suggest only faintly the extent and pervasiveness of what occurred among Boston's people during the antebellum era" (p. 121). For a shorter statement of the general thesis, see Stephan Thernstrom and Peter R. Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America," in Tamara Hareven, ed., *Anonymous Americans: Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Social History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 17-47.
4. One exception is Richard Sennett's seminal *Families Against The City*, which examined Chicago's Union Park from 1872 to 1890. There Sennett

found not only Warner's dictum of social differentiation in this middle class community, but a significant degree of residential and occupational stability. Sennett argued that the order of the suburb represented a retreat from the perceived disorder of the city, an extremely helpful insight. However, his tendency to equate stability with stagnancy and security with failure may constitute a profound misreading of the character and culture of the emerging middle class communities. Sennett states, for instance, that "residential and occupational immobility" in Union Park at a time of considerable change in the society at large may have been a sign of "stagnation and an inability to respond to the dynamism of the larger culture." Earlier, he had asserted that "the family became a refuge for fathers who were in fact stagnant in their work, even though the economic structure of Chicago was rapidly expanding." *Families Against the City: Middle Class Homes of Industrial Chicago, 1872-1890* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), see especially pp. 154, 164-5. Mary Ryan, writing more recently on mid-nineteenth-century Utica, has argued similarly for a middle class retreat into a "private world of domesticity," but viewed it rather as part of "a sequence of strategies whereby parents might secure for their children comfortable middle-range occupations, especially within a growing white-collar class . . ." *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. xiii, 146. James Henretta, in "The Study of Social Mobility: Ideological Assumptions and Conceptual Bias," *Labor History*, 18 (Spring, 1977), 165-78, and Howard Chudacoff, in "Success and Security: The Meaning of Social Mobility in America," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (December, 1982), contend on the basis of recent studies, primarily of nineteenth-century working class communities, that security may have been a more frequently sought goal than mobility.

5. There have been many attempts to define community and to evaluate it in specific contexts. Key ingredients in most, however, are considerations of physical setting (place), social structure (the nature and form that social interaction takes), and symbol (the realm of shared beliefs and values). Historian Thomas Bender, for example, in *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1978), has written: "a community involves a limited number of people in a somewhat restricted social space or network held together by shared understandings and a sense of obligation" (p. 7). Sociologist Albert Hunter combines the three dimensions in two categories, "ecological and normative," including in the latter both social interaction/structure and "shared collective representations and moral sentiments." *Symbolic Communities: The Persistence and Change of Chicago's Local Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 4. Hunter's work is particularly helpful in conceptualizing the symbolic level of community, the subject of the third section of

this paper, especially in his emphasis upon the way in which shared perceptions of names and boundaries contribute to a collective sense of community identity. Similarly, he points to the level of what I am calling here "common understandings" when he suggests as a basic level of symbolic community the "ability to exchange meaning through a shared set of symbols" (p. 67). Finally, his work suggests, though it does not probe systematically, the fundamental matter of a shared sense of value and morality, a level perhaps most important, and yet quite difficult to demonstrate and measure.

- A recent work which provides a useful model for conceptualizing community in the three terms identified above, as well as for the sensitive way it probes the "symbolic" level of community, is Kai T. Erikson, *Everything in Its Path: Destruction of Community in the Buffalo Creek Flood* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976). In it, Erikson probes the individual and collective dimensions of trauma which a cataclysmic flood produced in a community of people "held together by a common occupation, a common sense of the past, a common community, and a common feeling of belonging to, being a part of, a defined place" (p. 131).
6. Ten sample blocks, with a total of 127 residences, were selected to provide a cross-section of the households of the neighborhood, taking into account such factors as various periods of development, varying cost levels, and geographical distribution. A profile for each household was then developed at ten-year intervals, providing information regarding the name of the household head, that person's occupation, and whether the home was owned or rented; additionally, comparable information was gathered on place of prior residence (5 years earlier) and future residence (10 years later). This method made it possible to compile a profile of particular household histories, tracing the tenure of household heads, as well as patterns of in- and out-migration. The primary source for the data in this period was the set of Baltimore City directories published by the R. L. Polk Co. Available annually into the 1930s, these were published more sporadically from then on, with no directory having been issued since 1964.

In 1958 Sidney Goldstein systematically tested the validity of city directory information and concluded that it was a "valuable source" for demographic data. *Patterns of Mobility, 1910-1950: The Norristown Study* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), pp. 97, 108. Goldstein quite rightly acknowledged the severe limitation posed by the lack of data regarding women. More recent scholars have pointed to additional limitations regarding inclusion, especially to racial and, sometimes, economic bias, as well as to a lesser likelihood that those more transient would appear. See, for example, Appendix A., "Using City Directories in Ante-Bellum Urban Historical Research," in Peter R. Knights, *The Plain People of Boston* (pp. 127-139), and Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians* (pp. 279-288). City directories, of course, also provide no information re-

garding prior or subsequent residence for those dwelling outside the metropolitan area. While the problem of tracing transients is a particular limitation for the present study, those regarding race, income, and gender are less so, due to the particular socioeconomic character of the Edmondson community during the period under consideration. Predominantly white, generally middle income, with few married women working outside the home, and relatively “stable” residentially and occupationally, Edmondson residents were among the groups most likely to be included in the directories. Baltimore City tax records were used to verify ownership status, while telephone books and voting records were sometimes used to cross-check residence.

Census boundaries for tracts 16-8 (later 1608) and 20-7 (later 2007) correspond closely with the developing neighborhood’s boundaries and therefore make the census tract data extremely useful. Though Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) tract data was only first made available in 1930 (for a limited number of categories), the listings are increasingly detailed from 1940 onward.

7. An effort was made to locate interviewees who represented varying age groups throughout the community’s history, as well as various sections of the neighborhood. The present article is based upon fifteen such interviews.

W. Edward Orser, “Racial Change in Retrospect: White Perceptions of Stability and Mobility in Edmondson Village, 1910–1980,” *International Journal of Oral History*, 5 (February, 1984), 36–58, provides an overview of the author’s research on the community’s history and an exploration of the fit between testimony from oral history interviews and the quantitative evidence from the census data and the block study, noting some significant areas of disparity between the two, but contending that “oral history evidence provides the essential insight into what people *believed to be true*” (p. 51).

8. George W. and Walter S. Bromley’s atlases of Baltimore City in 1896 and 1906 show the rural character of the Edmondson section at the turn of the century. *Atlas of the City of Baltimore* (Philadelphia: G. W. Bromley & Co., 1896 and 1906). A contemporary source with information on some of the gentry families and their estates is Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and People*, II–III, 106–7, 888–9.

9. The preceding profile of the area’s 97 residents is based on the manuscript version of the 1910 federal census. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in 1910* [Baltimore City Wards 16 and 20].

10. Insurance maps issued by the Sanborn Map and Publishing Company in 1914 provide detailed information on the two Edmondson Avenue settlements and the development along Walnut Avenue in Rognel Heights (see the cover photo for the 1914 map as updated to 1927); on the new span, “The New Edmondson Avenue Concrete Bridge,”

Baltimore *Sun* (November 22, 1908), p. 15; ads in the classified section of the *Sun* announced the sale of new houses along Edmondson Avenue between 1911 and 1914.

11. Baltimore *Sun*, October 6, 1912.
12. Few extensive studies of Baltimore’s twentieth-century rowhouse development have been made to date; for a good survey of nineteenth-century rowhouse design for low and middle income residents, see Mary Ellen Hayward, “Urban Vernacular Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore,” *Winterthur Portfolio*, 16 (1981), 33–63.
13. Title map prepared by E. V. Coonan and Co., surveyors and civil engineers, April 4, 1930, for the James Keelty Company, provided by courtesy of the latter.
14. “James Keelty” [obituary], Baltimore *Evening Sun*, June 15, 1944; interview with Joseph Keelty (younger son of James), October 26, 1982; notes prepared by Mary Ellen Hayward for the Peale Museum exhibit, “Rowhouse: A Baltimore Style of Living”; ads in the Baltimore *Sun*, April 2, 1911; October 6, 1912; April 2, 1916.
15. Baltimore *Sun*, October 7, 1917; another builder had advertised an early “daylight house” in a nearby residential area as early as 1914. Baltimore *Sun*, October 4, 1914.
16. Two alternatives had been introduced along Edmondson in some of the houses prior to the daylight, both having similar dimensions as the standard rows. Duplexes provided light to internal rooms via a long, narrow areaway separating every two houses, but with the added expense of exterior side walls. “Areaway” houses were attached in front, but had a short passageway extending from the rear to provide windows on the side of the kitchens, which they separated, as well as to an inner dining room (below) and bedroom (above).
17. Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. 302.
18. In April, 1920, for instance, the municipal building permits department noted a historic record number of permits issued, nearly ¾’s of them for brick two-story dwellings. Baltimore *Sun*, May 2, 1920.
19. Interview with William Joynes, October 7, 1982.
20. Baltimore *Sun*, October 7, 1928. The Wildwood homes were viewed as an example of the developer “upgrading” his product. Interview with Joseph Keelty. Interview with William Joynes.
21. As one barometer of the nose-dive in housing starts, the *Sun*’s real estate section plummeted from eight or more pages in the late 1920s to two or three by 1932 and a mere half page by 1933.
22. Sanborn Co. insurance map (1914) for water lines; sewer connections along Edmondson were first listed in housing ads in the mid-teens (Baltimore *Sun*, October 4, 1914; October 1, 1917).
23. Kenneth Morse, “Baltimore Street Car Routes” [typed ms., revised 1960], Maryland Historical Society. For examples of Keelty ads giving directions by streetcar, see Baltimore *Sun*, October 7, 1928; October 4, 1931; October 1, 1939. In the early 1920s the double tracks were moved from the south side of Edmondson to the center, and

- subsequently the avenue was widened and paved, sure signs of the increasing importance of automobile travel, however.
24. Baltimore *Sun*, January 16, 1932.
  25. A unique feature of Maryland's property system permitted title to land and house to be established separately, with the former subject to a ground rent of 6 per cent. The net effect was that the initial purchase price could be lowered substantially, a considerable benefit to buyers who might have difficulty raising sufficient funds for the total purchase of house and land; the system also was a considerable benefit to builders, many of whom apparently counted on the ground title (or the rent from it) as their margin of profit. As an example, a typical house purchased from Keely in 1923 sold for \$3650; the additional land title (purchased by a third party as an investment at a cost of \$1226.30) created an annual ground rent for the new buyer of \$72 per year. In 1930, seven years later, the buyer had managed to pay off the mortgage on the house; in seven more years he bought the land title as well. Documents relating to the mortgage of their house on West Franklin Street provided by the Robert Lansinger family.
  26. Peter Rossi in *Why Families Move* argued that the primary "housing package" consideration was housing size, related as it was to family size and needs, on the one hand, and economic status, on the other. (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1980; first edition, 1955), pp. 17, 144, 225. Rossi, however, seemingly neglected social status as a consideration.
  27. Garrett Power, "Apartheid Baltimore Style: The Residential Segregation Ordinances of 1910-1913," *Maryland Law Review*, xx 42 (November, 1983), see especially 294-6; 316-7. On housing, Power cites Janet E. Kemp's report, *Housing Conditions in Baltimore* (Baltimore: Baltimore Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, 1907), which described two alley and two tenement districts and provided documentary photographs to illustrate the findings.
  28. Interview with William Joynes.
  29. The 1920-1930 growth figure is an estimate; the 1930-1940 percent is based upon federal census data. Census figures cited here and subsequently for the two census tracts comprising the Edmondson Avenue area are from the population and housing tables of the 1930 [15th], 1940 [16th], and 1950 [17th] federal censuses, published by the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census in Washington, DC. This source hereafter cited as *U.S. Census*.
  - Figures regarding out-migration are from the sample block survey (see footnote 6). Social historians, particularly those examining the nineteenth-century city, have noted that population increase or decrease masked much higher rates of in- and out-migration. See, for example, Thernstrom and Knights, "Men in Motion," in *Anonymous Americans*, pp. 21-31.
  30. Sample block survey.
  31. In 1930 adults aged 25-44 represented 37.5 per cent of the population and children through age 20, 32.4 per cent; in 1940, when population figures had grown by nearly two thousand, adults in that age range constituted 38.4 per cent, children through age 19, 26.1 per cent—a comparison suggesting that the Depression Decade may have brought both a lower birth rate and a gradual aging trend. Neither the 1930 nor the 1940 tract data provides information specifically on family size, though the 1940 listing does include the household data cited here. In that year median household size in the Edmondson area was listed as 3.08 (for tract 16-8) and 3.19 (for tract 20-7); for the city as a whole it stood at 3.36; in owner-occupied housing at 3.53. *U.S. Census* (1930, 1940).
  32. By comparison, city-wide figures for an urban area usually considered distinguished for its high rate of homeownership showed 39 per cent of the dwelling units to be owner occupied in 1940, while in 1950 the figure had increased to 50 per cent. *U.S. Census* (1940, 1950). The discrepancy between rates of homeownership in the block survey and the total tract figures does suggest that the former was above average on this scale, a factor that must be taken into consideration in judging other findings from the block survey.
  33. Interview with William Joynes.
  34. Sample block survey. The assertion that the great majority were not newcomers to the city is based on the large number of settlers whose prior residence can be traced through the city directories to city addresses (5 years previous) and the comparatively smaller number for whom no data was available, some of whom (but not all) might have migrated from outside the metropolitan area.
  35. In 1930 only 44 of the community's total population were black and 8947 white, and in 1940 that small number had shrunk even farther to 34, while white population had grown to 11,745. Moreover, housing data (available by block) from 1940 shows black households to be on the margins of the two census tracts. *U.S. Census* (1930, 1940).
  36. Interview with Virginia Hook, November 4, 1982; interview with Virginia Vargo, September 17, 1980.
  37. On the religious history of the area's congregations, as well as the names of early members, *St. Bernardine's Church Silver Anniversary, 1928-1953* [no publication information], and J. William Joynes, *Thirty-Two Years at Christ Edmondson Methodist Church* (Baltimore: Christ Edmondson Methodist Church, 1954).
 

Only 5 per cent of the neighborhood was foreign born in 1930 and 4 per cent in 1940. Ward figures for 1920 (when no tract data was available) show the foreign born population to have been relatively slight on the outer west side of the city as a whole, 7.4 per cent in wards 16 and 20, when the city-wide ratio was 11.5 per cent. In 1930 another 17 were the offspring of foreign or mixed parentage, a figure that no doubt declined over time (though the 1940 tract data does not include the category). *U.S. Census* (1920, 1930, 1940).
  38. James Henretta in "The Study of Social Mobility" and Howard Chudacoff in "Success and Security,"

for example, raise three general questions about the use of occupational classification in many social mobility studies: 1) the adequacy of occupational classification and ranking systems; 2) the extent to which occupation may correlate with other factors in people's lives (though they concede the often close correlation with income); and 3) the assumptions that are made about occupational status and social mobility, especially the inference that all Americans *want* to be socially mobile and use occupation as a means to achieve that goal. Henretta, pp. 167-170; Chudacoff, pp. 105-106.

The present study uses the descriptive categories for occupation and the occupational coding for those categories developed by the United States Bureau of the Census. For purposes of standardization, the codebook used is the 1970 version. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population Alphabetical Index of Industries and Occupation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971). While the Census Bureau's general categories have changed some over the years (as, of course, has the coding system), use of such a standardized system not only provides a generally accepted basis for occupational coding, but makes it possible to compare the earlier block data (when no census tract information was available) with comparable later data, as well as to compare the later data (from 1940 onwards) with the tract figures. The use of the categories provides a broad framework for examining general trends regarding occupational change and mobility. While a judgment is not made about "higher" and "lower" occupational categories, except insofar as they seem to be reflected in interviewees' attitudes, it is possible to use the categorization system to examine such broad occupational shifts as those from manual to nonmanual, lesser skilled to higher skilled, or employee to independent proprietor or professional status.

The block survey helps to fill an important void for the study, since occupational data is not among the limited categories released by census tract data in 1930; it has the further advantage of providing a mechanism for tracing the occupational histories of individuals on the sample blocks over time.

39. In their "classic" early community studies of Middletown, Robert and Helen Lynd observed that "One's job is the watershed down which the rest of one's life tends to flow in Middletown. Who one is, whom one knows, how one lives, what one aspires to be,—these and many other urgent realities of living are patterned for one by what one does to get a living and the amount of living this allows one to buy." *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1937), p. 7; see also, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1929), pp. 22-4.
40. Sample block survey.
41. Sample block survey and *U.S. Census* (1940). Again, some caution must be used in comparing the sample block data and that from the census, not only because of slight deviation in the former in comparison to the latter, but also because the

sample block data is based on information regarding household heads only, while the census figures provided data for all workers.

42. As noted above, the survey was limited to household heads, usually male. Though city directories sometimes did list a wife's occupation, few in the sample were so indicated. In some cases an unmarried daughter living in her parents' home received a separate listing. Otherwise, women whose occupations were provided were single or widows, though in this neighborhood widows seldom were listed as employed.
43. Seventeen per cent of all adults employed were women in sales or clerical positions, but only two per cent of professionals, two and a half per cent of managers, and 4.2 per cent of operatives were women, to list only those categories where women had any significant job presence at all. It should be noted that women working as domestics constituted only one-half of one per cent of the total work force. *U.S. Census* (1940).
44. While the small share of professional and managerial positions paralleled the low ratios for these groups in the city total, laborers and domestics were nearly absent from the occupational equation. Slightly more oriented toward the crafts than manufacturing operative positions (particularly for men), Edmondson's middle level job profile was striking for its greater prominence in sales and clerical positions, where it surpassed city averages by 18% (and by 9% for males). *U.S. Census* (1940).
45. Between 1900 and 1920, for example, Baltimore's adult employees expanded by more than half (60 per cent, from 217,350 to 347,754), while between 1920 and 1930 the number advanced a more modest 4.6 per cent (to 362,172), only to fall back 3.8 per cent by 1940 (to 348,358), after a decade of Depression. *U.S. Census* (1900, 1920, 1930, 1940). [In the latter year the figure is for those over 14; previous figures are for those over 10.]
46. The percentage of in-migrants (those who had lived elsewhere five years previous) making an occupational change was relatively consistent: in 1920 only 21 per cent had done so; in 1930, 19 per cent; and in 1940, 17 per cent. Sample block survey.
47. Comparison of cohorts of new residents in 1920, 1930, and 1940 over their first ten years in the neighborhood indicate a 28 per cent occupational change rate for the 1920 group, 16 per cent for the 1930 group; though missing data on the 1940 group makes any observation quite tentative, and the period of consideration must be extended for 16 years (because of the absence of a city directory in 1950), the data available shows only one in 14 making a change. Sample block survey. In Norris-town, Pennsylvania, during the period from 1910 to 1950 Sidney Goldstein found a gradual decline in the stability rate for occupational categories, with a gradual increase in rates of both "upward" and "downward" mobility (to use his terms), though a greater tendency for stability among the professional, managerial, and skilled categories. Goldstein's study, however, was of an entire small

- city, as opposed to a particular neighborhood with as tight a social definition as the Edmondson area. *Patterns of Mobility*, pp. 190–193.
48. Those who moved out of the neighborhood during this period were much more likely to move to another part of the city, though usually not the older sections from which many had come, than to proceed westward or northward into the suburban county. Occupationally data is much thinner, but that which is available suggests that the pattern closely mirrored that of non-moving residents with no greater or lesser degree of likelihood that the residential change was accompanied by a change of occupational category. Sample block survey.
49. In 1950 the median income for families and unrelated individuals in Baltimore City stood at \$2817; for census tract 16-8 it was \$4059 and for census tract 20-7, \$3717. The median value of homes in 1940 citywide was \$2895; for 16-8, \$3528 and for 20-7, \$3351. In 1950 comparable figures were citywide, \$7113; 16-8, \$9142 and 20-7, \$8256. *U.S. Census* (1940, 1950).
50. Warner viewed the process of streetcar suburbanization in the late nineteenth century as producing a more specialized metropolis, one which physically separated primarily middle class suburbs from the older, more heterogeneous parts of the city, citing as among the consequent problems of modern life “the discipline of the lives of city dwellers into specialized transportation paths, specialized occupations, specialized home environments, and specialized community relationships” (*Streetcar Suburbs*, p. 3).
51. See the earlier discussion of these dimensions of community culture in footnote 5. The present section is based primarily upon oral interviews with approximately fifteen residents of the neighborhood during the period being examined. Only in cases of direct quotation, however, are specific citations provided.
52. Interview with Eloise Milburn, March 23, 1981.
53. Hunter contends in *Symbolic Communities* that names and boundaries (social as well as “natural”) function as symbols of shared community understanding (p. 67).
54. The following interchange with two early residents was characteristic:
- The area where you lived, did it ever have a name?*  
Catherine  
Edgar: No, it never had a name of a development, you mean.
- Eloise  
Milburn: But the improvement association we came under, was that the Lyndhurst Improvement Association?
- Edgar: The only thing my mother ever joined was the women’s civic league, because she was still trying to get that alley.
- But if you told people where you lived, what did you say?*  
Milburn: I always just said Edmondson Avenue—I always would say just above Hilton Street, because most people know where that is.
- Edgar: On the other side of the bridge.
- Milburn: Yes, that’s it . . .
- Interview with Eloise Milburn and Catherine Edgar, March 23, 1981.
55. Interview with Ann Lansinger, October 2, 1980.
56. Not only were men providers; they were, for the most part, husbands and/or fathers—very few adult males were single or unattached. City directories seldom listed a second employed male living in a household on the blocks surveyed; analysis of the 1950 census tract data suggests that only 16 per cent of males 20 or older were single, slightly after the period considered here.
57. Interview with Eloise Milburn and Catherine Edgar.
58. Mary Ryan found precursors of this ideal among the emerging “new” middle class of mid-nineteenth-century Utica, a “cult of true womanhood,” which she argued actually narrowed women’s sphere (*Cradle of the Middle Class*, p. 189); though the occupational mix of Edmondson’s settlers was not so clearly “white collar” as Ryan’s middle class, they were doubtless emulating a widely-shared aspiration. In the 1920s the Lynds concluded that the absence of “business class” married women among Muncie’s paid workforce was one of the important differences separating that group from its “working class” counterparts (*Middletown*, p. 27).
59. Interview with Eloise Milburn and Catherine Edgar.
60. While married women did not work—or so the code seemed to say—daughters might continue to live at home for a relatively short period of time after completing school, typically until marriage, and apparently it was acceptable for them to work outside the home. Virginia Hook, who finished high school near the end of the period, noted: “We didn’t really have an option, I don’t believe at that time—until we were married. Ultimately, we hoped that when we married we wouldn’t have to work again, because we didn’t at that time aspire to real careers.” Interview with Virginia Hook, November 4, 1982. However, 1950 census tract figures list only 18 per cent of all females over 20 years of age as single.
61. Interviews with William Joynes, Virginia Hook, Eloise Milburn and Catherine Edgar, and Virginia Vargo; interviews with Marge Wareheim, September 12, 1980, and with Helen LeBrou, September 12, 1980. In response to a question about how important were the churches to the neighborhood, for instance, Virginia Vargo responded: “Very important; as far as social life, for myself as a teenager, St. Bernardine’s was it . . . That was our social life. St. Bernardine’s had a very active CYO, one of the best, if not the best in the area. They had a lot to offer kids . . .”
62. In mid-nineteenth-century Utica children of middle class families were deferring marriage and family, apparently until they were considered economically established (Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, p. 179); but the Lynds found a growing trend toward early marriage and family responsibilities in Muncie in the 1920s (*Middletown*, p.



# St. Michaels, Maryland: An 18th Century Speculative Development

WILLIAM G. BODENSTEIN

**T**HE TOWN OF ST. MICHAELS, MARYLAND was planned as a development scheme by the factor of a Liverpool firm of merchants in 1778. The following account of the founding of the town is based on a comparison of the original deeds to the town lots with a recently-discovered manuscript copy of the plat of a survey of the town completed in 1806.<sup>1</sup>

James Braddock,<sup>2</sup> developer of St. Michaels, recorded his power of attorney to serve as factor or agent for Gildart & Gawith, Liverpool merchants, at Talbot Court House on 24 January 1775.<sup>3</sup> The document was dated 24 August 1774 at Liverpool and was witnessed at the Court House by Captain Richard Jones, master, and Robert Roberts, ship's carpenter, of the Gildart ship *Johnson*. The *Johnson* had entered the port of Oxford on 13 January 1775.<sup>4</sup>

The Gildart family had been trading in the West Indies and the American colonies from the early 1700s, dealing in general merchandise and the transportation of slaves, convicts, and indentured servants. A James Gildart was master of a ship visiting Talbot County in 1713<sup>5</sup> and the company had maintained a "settlement and factory" at Oxford in 1714.<sup>6</sup> The Gildarts, their relatives, and people in partnership with them had been prominent in the city of Liverpool since before 1715, including Sir Thomas Johnson, builder of the first dry-dock and developer of the port of Liverpool. They and their associates had frequently served as mayors and bailiffs of Liverpool, as had other prominent merchants (and competitors) such as Foster Cunliffe of Oxford.<sup>7</sup> In addition to Oxford,

Maryland the Gildarts maintained agents on the York, Rappahannock, and Potomac rivers and at Baltimore.<sup>8</sup> Business dealings were carried on with such distinguished families as the Washingtons of Virginia and the Carrolls of Maryland.<sup>9</sup> At the time James Braddock was sent to Maryland, James Gildart was in serious financial trouble, apparently from unwise speculation, possibly related to the growing unrest in the North American colonies.<sup>10</sup>

Considering the traffic between Liverpool and the colonies, the merchants of that city must have been thoroughly informed about the American moves toward independence—and war. James Braddock's assignment to Maryland in 1774 and the behavior of the Gildart's Captain Richard Jones in the "Ship *Johnson* Incident"<sup>11</sup> of 1775 suggests an ignorance of, or a failure to appreciate, the seriousness of the situation.

Braddock seems to have tried to carry on with "business as usual". He advertised for the recovery of runaway convicts and loaned money on land. An advertisement in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) 13 July 1775 stated that Ashburner & Place (Baltimore agents of Gildart & Gawith) and James Braddock of St. Michaels were looking for a ship to load lumber for Liverpool and as late as 1780 he made a sale of land for which he took payment in tobacco.<sup>12</sup>

Although documentation is not available, the possibility exists that James Braddock was sent to Maryland by Gildart and Gawith with the option of engaging in real estate speculation in addition to the usual commercial operations of the company in an effort to recoup the Gildart fortunes. Besides their "factory and settlement" at Oxford, the Gildarts had been involved with several tracts of land on Broad Creek near

Mr. Bodenstein, a long-term resident of Maryland, is a volunteer at the Historical Society of Talbot-County.

St. Michaels and their captains and factors must have been familiar with the St. Michaels area.<sup>13</sup> Braddock at St. Michaels, was isolated commercially by the Revolution, with the greatly reduced foreign trade in the hands of the Annapolis and Baltimore merchants.<sup>14</sup> It is not surprising that he should turn to buying and selling land, either on his own or on instructions from the company.

In June, 1775 James Braddock began purchasing land in the vicinity of St. Michaels church and by early 1778 he had acquired parts of tracts known as Chance, Elliott's Lot, Davenport, Bentley Hay, Janes Progress, and The Beach. At the time of his last purchase, in 1779, he held more than 200 acres (Table 1). In none of his transactions did Braddock mention his connection with Gildart & Gawith, although it would have been normal procedure to include in his deeds a reference to the firm for whom he was agent.

Braddock's omission of his connection with the company may have been a necessity in view of the 7 July 1775 resolution of the Talbot Committee of Observation which imposed a boycott on Gildart & Gawith and its agents.<sup>15</sup> The success of his policy may be judged by the fact that three members of the committee subsequently bought lots in the St. Michaels development.<sup>16</sup>

Of the land acquired by James Braddock, a parcel of 35 acres of Janes Progress and The Beach is most significant with respect to the original plan of St. Michaels. This was part of two tracts totaling 127 acres which Braddock obtained at an auction of the real estate of Philip Wetheral in 1778 (Table 1).

Philip Wetheral, merchant,<sup>17</sup> purchased 92 acres of Bentley Hay and Janes Progress in 1769 from John Wales, planter, and 35 acres of Janes Progress and The Beach from James Hewes, blacksmith, in 1772.<sup>18</sup> Wetheral died intestate probably late in 1773, and part of his estate was settled by Thomas Place (of Ashburner & Place) of Baltimore; however, there were other Wetheral debts outstanding in Talbot County. A "Private Act" passed at the 17 March 1778 session of the General Assem-

bly authorized Robert Richardson and Thomas Kemp "of Talbot County" to dispose of Wetheral's real estate in the County at Public Auction.<sup>19</sup> According to his deed, James Braddock was high bidder at £1550 (Table 1).

The 35 acres of Janes Progress and the Beach comprise essentially the land Braddock laid out for the town, extending from the waterfront of Church Creek (St. Michaels Harbor) westward to the "Church Land" and the main road (now Talbot Street), including the inlet known as Church Cove. On the north it was bounded by a line running southwest from Mill Point to the "Church Land" and the main road, and on the South by the future Chestnut Street. Although the land utilized for the town-site was only about  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the total acreage available to Braddock, it adjoined the Church, had a long road frontage, and the best waterfront. Large-scale overlays of the various tracts in and about St. Michaels show that all of Braddock's original streets and 58 numbered lots were included within the 35 acre parcel, with about 14 acres south of Chestnut Street not required for the plan.

Braddock must have moved rapidly in laying out of his town and in offering the lots for sale. While Braddock's deed to the land obtained at auction is dated 3 December 1778, the deeds to the first 8 lots sold all bear the "made" date of 31 December 1778. The early sale of these lots is probably an indication of the desirability of the town-site; however, it is interesting to note that only one of this first group of lots (no. 52) had what we now consider desirable frontage on "deep water"!

Table 2 is a listing of all but two<sup>20</sup> of the purchasers of the original 58 lots in Braddock's town of St. Michaels according to the information given in the deed to the first sale of each lot. There is no evidence that Braddock's survey or plat of St. Michaels was ever recorded, and as an unrecorded subdivision the individual lots did not exist until a buyer had been found and a deed drawn. The persons qualified to give deeds to the original lots were: (1) James Braddock 1778-1782; (2) John Thompson 1783-1784; (3) James Wignal 1784-1789.

TABLE 1.  
Land Purchased by James Braddock, 1775-1779, According to the Talbot County Land Record

Seller	Date		Acres	Amount Paid**	Tracts	Reference***	
	Made	Recorded				Vol.	Page
George Gleave "Merchant"*	6-6-75	6-15-75	(43¼)****	£40 10s 11d	Chance and Janes Progress (only half of the tract paid for)	20	484
George Gleave "Merchant"	2-10-76	5-10-76	(43¼)	£36 15s	(remaining half of the tract paid for)	20	529
John Johning Hopkins "Planter"	7-22-77	1-21-78	21 3/4	£163 2s 6d	Beach, Elliott's Lot, Dav- enport	21	22
John Johning Hopkins	12-30-77	1-21-78	44¼	£309 15s	Elliott's Lot	21	20
Thomas Kemp and Robert Richardson (Estate of Philip Wetheral)	12-3-78	1-7-79	127	£1550 cm	Beach, Bentley Hay, Janes Progress	21	66
James Hewes "Blacksmith"	10-23-79	11-7-81	2	£200 cm	Janes Progress	21	184

\* Occupation, if stated in the deed.

\*\* cm = "current money"

\*\*\* Talbot County Land Record

\*\*\*\* Meets and bounds of the half-tract not specified

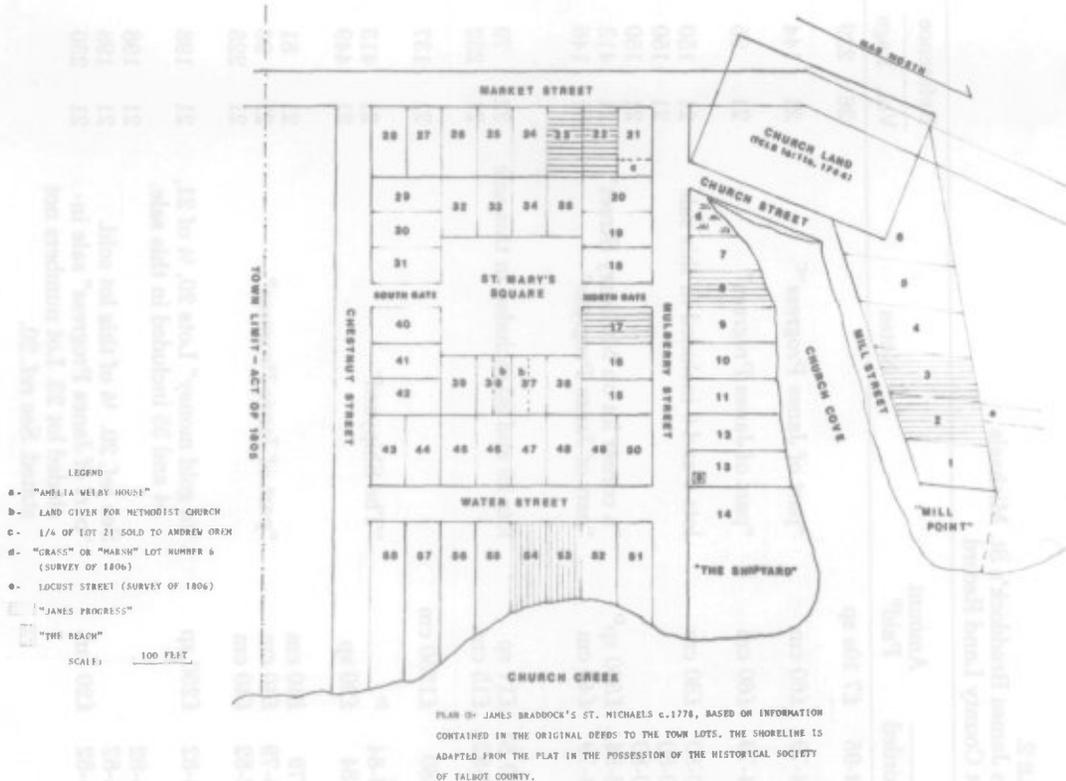


FIGURE 1.

John W. Reps<sup>21</sup> mentions that "few towns in Maryland were first laid out by an individual on his own land": the St. Michaels of James Braddock appears to be an exception. Reps also gives credit to the planners of St. Michaels for a "conscious attempt at civic design" in the creation of St. Mary's Square—to which might be added a sense of civic and religious responsibility evidenced by Braddock's donation of a lot (actually, half of each of lots 37 and 38) for the erection of a Methodist church, although he was not a member (Table 2, footnote f).

There is no evidence that streets existed prior to Braddock's town plan of 1778, other than the "main road to the bayside" (which Braddock called "Market Street") and lanes leading to houses which probably existed on the tracts in the area. The fact that Braddock's streets and lots are ruler-straight and regular in pattern makes a case for the lack of previous development on the site. The change of Braddock's "Market

Street" to Talbot Street in the 1806 survey was probably intended to replace an inappropriate name—there is no evidence that a market was ever established on the main road. When a short-lived market was finally set up in about 1806 it was located in St. Mary's Square.<sup>22</sup>

By the time of his death in 1782, Braddock had disposed of 38 lots, 37 by sale, and one by gift. Eight deeds were "made" on 31 December 1778, there were two in 1779, seven in 1780, twelve in 1781, and ten in 1782. The last lots sold by James Braddock were numbers 44, 45, 46 on Water Street to Lewis Davis, "subject of the Kingdom of France". The date the deed to these lots was made is 5 August 1782. Braddock's will was received for probate 24 September 1782 and it is assumed his death occurred between those dates.

At the time of James Braddock's death the town lots had been for sale for 3½ years and 21 individuals had taken title to the 37 lots sold by him.<sup>23</sup> Several lots had changed

TABLE 2.  
Purchasers of the Original Lots in James Braddock's St. Michaels  
According to the Talbot County Land Record

Lot No.	Buyer	Seller	Date		Amount Paid <sup>B</sup>	Notes	Reference	
			Made	Recorded			Vol.	Page
1.	Thomas Harrison, Jr. <sup>A</sup> "House Carpenter"	Perry and Richard Spencer	2-14-95	2-24-95	£7 10s sp		26	239
2.	Thomas Harrison "of Joseph"	James Braddock	12-31-78	5-24-79	£60 cm	"part of Janes Progress" <sup>C</sup>	21	144
3.	John Bruff "Wheelwright"	James Braddock	12-31-78	5-24-79	£60 cm	"part of Janes Progress"	21	95
4.	Joseph Harrison	James Braddock	4-17-80	9-30-80	£80 cm	lots 5 and 6 included in this sale	21	150
5.	Joseph Harrison	James Braddock	4-17-80	9-30-80			21	150
6.	Joseph Harrison	James Braddock	4-17-80	9-30-80			21	150
7.	John Thompson "Gent"	James Wignal	5-4-84	6-23-84	£500 sp <sup>D</sup>	"a corner lot on Mulberry Street"	21	413
8.	John Hamilton	James Braddock	12-31-78	5-24-79	£40 cm	"part of Janes Progress"	21	146
9.	see reference 20							
10.	see reference 20							
11.	Lambert Robinson	James Wignal	10-30-84	11-30-84	£17 sp	lots 29 and 30 included in this sale	22	79
12.	William Harrison, Jr. "Blacksmith"	James Braddock	9-15-81	3-13-82	£15 cm		21	232
13.	Perry Spencer "Ship Carpenter"	James Braddock	4-14-80	6-6-80	£1250 cm		21	137
14.	John Thompson "Gent"	James Wignal	5-4-84	6-23-84	<sup>D</sup>	"The Shipyard"	21	413
15.	William Harrison "Blacksmith"	John Thompson	6-7-84	9-1-84	£20 sp		21	449
16.	John Rolle "Gent"	James Braddock	12-31-78	3-2-79	£40 cm		21	81
17.	William Davis	James Braddock	12-31-78	5-25-79	£40 cm	"part of Janes Progress"	21	96
18.	Jonathan Harrison "House Carpenter"	James Braddock	9-15-81	3-12-82	£40 cm		21	228
19.	Andrew Orem	James Braddock	12-13-81	1-15-82	£250 sp	"in gold money" Lots 20, ¼ of 21, 34 and 35 included in this sale.	21	198
20.	Andrew Orem	James Braddock	12-13-81	1-15-82			21	198
21.	Andrew Orem	James Braddock	12-13-81	1-15-82		See ref. 20. ¼ of this lot sold.	21	198
22.	John Dorgan "Blacksmith"	James Braddock	12-13-81	1-15-82	£20 cm	"part of Janes Progress" sale included lot 23. Lot numbers not stated. See ref. 20.	21	230

23.	John Dorgan "Black-smith"	James Braddock	12-13-81	1-15-82		"part of Janes Progress"	21	230
24.	Meredith Marshall "Planter"	James Wignal	10-28-89	11-28-89	£7 5s sp	sale included lot 39 and half of lot 38	23	598
25.	Hugh Hopkins	James Braddock	5-18-82	8-27-82	£10 cm		21	277
26.	Elijah Marshall	James Wignal	10-28-89	11-28-89	£4 5s sp		23	600
27.	Ephraim Chick Toope	James Wignal	5-4-84	6-24-84	£20 sp	sale included lot 28	21	421
28.	Ephraim Chick Toope	James Wignal	5-4-84	6-24-84			21	421
29.	Lambert Robinson	James Wignal	10-30-84	11-30-84			22	79
30.	Lambert Robinson	James Wignal	10-30-84	11-30-84			22	79
31.	Duncan Campbell "Sawyer"	James Wignal	5-4-84	10-6-84	£3 5s sp		22	34
32.	William Hambleton, Jr. "Gent"	James Braddock	4-17-80	4-8-01	£40 cm		29	70
33.	Richard Skinner "Gent"	James Braddock	11-22-79	12-6-79	£150 cm		21	116
34.	Andrew Orem	James Braddock	12-13-81	1-15-82			21	198
35.	Andrew Orem	James Braddock	12-13-81	1-15-82			21	198
36.	James Keithley <sup>E</sup>	James Wignal	10-30-84	12-15-84	£3 10s sp	sale included ½ lot 37	22	88
37.	James Keithly	James Wignal	10-30-84	12-15-84		½ of this lot	22	88
37.	Trustees, Methodist Church <sup>F</sup>	James Braddock	6-6-81	3-12-82	gift	½ of this lot	21	229
38.	Trustees, Methodist Church	James Braddock	6-6-81	3-12-82	gift	½ of this lot	21	229
38.	Meredith Marshall "Planter"	James Wignal	10-28-89	11-28-89		½ of this lot	23	598
39.	Meredith Marshall "Planter"	James Wignal	10-28-89	11-28-89			23	598
40.	Thomas Groves	James Wignal	5-4-84	6-22-84	£3 35s sp		21	412
41.	Thomas Groves	James Braddock	4-27-80	5-13-80	£500 cm	sale included lot 42	21	132
42.	Thomas Groves	James Braddock	4-27-80	5-13-80			21	132
43.	John Merchant <sup>G</sup> "Waterman"	John Thompson	10-2-84	4-1-85	5s sp		22	162
44.	Lewis Davis <sup>H</sup> "Gent"	James Braddock	8-5-82	8-13-82	£40 cm	lots 45 and 46 included in this sale	21	274
45.	Lewis Davis "Gent"	James Braddock	8-5-82	8-13-82			21	274
46.	Lewis Davis "Gent"	James Braddock	8-5-82	8-13-82			21	274
47.	Thomas Groves "Mariner"	James Braddock	5-18-82	5-25-82	£60 sp	lots 53 and 54 included in this sale	21	253
48.	Thomas Lambdin "son of Elizabeth Lambdin, widow"	James Braddock	12-31-78	5-8-79	£40 cm		21	92

49.	Daniel Lambdin "son of Elizabeth Lambdin, widow"	James Braddock	12-31-78	5-8-79	£40 cm		21	93
50.	Perry Spencer "Shipwright"	John Thompson	12-11-83	3-2-84	£25 sp	sale included lot 51	21	369
51.	John Thompson	James Braddock	5-18-82	7-29-82	£10 sp		21	272
52.	Robert Richardson	James Braddock	12-31-78	3-2-79	£60 cm		21	80
53.	Thomas Groves "Mariner"	James Braddock	5-18-82	5-25-82		"part of The Beach"	21	253
54.	Thomas Groves "Mariner"	James Braddock	5-18-82	5-25-82		"part of The Beach"	21	253
55.	Jonathan Spencer	James Braddock	9-15-81	1-18-82	£10 cm		21	202
56.	Jonathan Spencer "Ship Carpenter"	James Braddock	10-29-79	4-11-80	£200 cm		21	128
57.	Jonathan Spencer "Shipwright"	James Braddock	5-18-82	5-28-82	£10 sp		21	256
58.	Jonathan Spencer "Shipwright"	James Braddock	6-15-82	6-20-82	£100 sp		21	263
MILL POINT	William Harrison, "Blacksmith" and John Thompson	James Wignal	5-4-84	6-23-84	£68 sp	"adjoining lot no. 2" (included lot 1)	21	419

<sup>A</sup> The occupation of the buyer, if stated in the deed.

<sup>B</sup> cm = "current money"; sp = "specie"; as stated in the deed.

<sup>C</sup> The tract name as stated in the deed. Later deeds (outside the scope of this paper) often include tract names although they were not mentioned in the original deeds to the lots.

<sup>D</sup> In this transaction John Thompson bought back from James Wignal lots 7 and 14 and all of the unsold land south of the main road which had been left to Thompson by James Braddock (see text and ref. 34). Although lot number 7 was originally "a corner lot", the survey of 1806 created a new lot number 6 (later known as the "marsh" or "grass" lot) on Mulberry Street between number 7 and the corner of Church Street. Braddock's lot number 6 on Mill Street was combined with number 5. The sale of numbered lots laid out by John Thompson on his land south of the main road (Thompson's Addition or "Thompson's Square") did not begin until 1791.

<sup>E</sup> On a later deed (TCLR 21:310, 1783) James Keithley is a "Weaver".

<sup>F</sup> The trustees named in the deed were: Joseph Harrison, Thomas Harrison, Richard Parrott, John Hersey, John Mandanold, Robert Lambdin, Joseph Denny, and David Fairbank. T. H. Sewell states that there is no proof that James Braddock was a member of the "Society of Methodists" (Thomas H. Sewell, "St. Michaels Methodism", St. Michaels, Md., 1894, p. 205).

<sup>G</sup> The deed to this lot states that James Braddock had sold the land to a Robert Harrison but that Braddock removed the deed from the courthouse before it could be recorded. Then Braddock died. The lot is now sold to John Merchant, "Waterman", for 5 shillings, specie and "divers good causes and considerations."

<sup>H</sup> Lewis Davis is described in the deed as "a subject of the Kingdom of France."

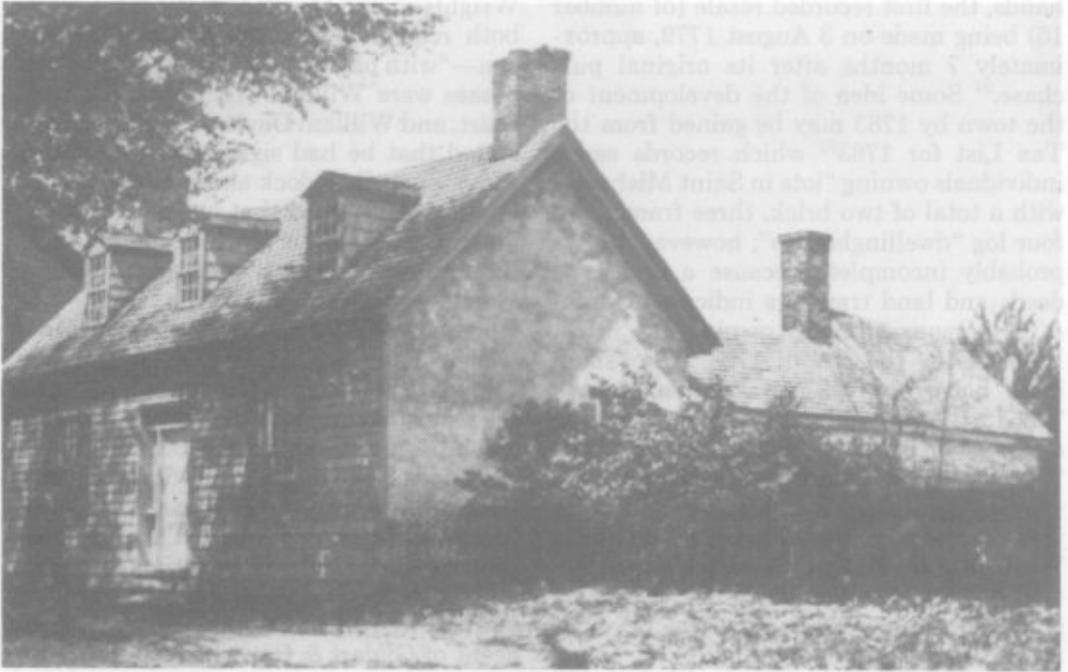


FIGURE 2.  
Amelia Welby House, from postcard dated 1908.  
T. H. Sewell, publisher.



FIGURE 3.  
Amelia Welby House, 1983.  
Photograph by the author.

hands, the first recorded resale (of number 16) being made on 3 August 1779, approximately 7 months after its original purchase.<sup>24</sup> Some idea of the development of the town by 1783 may be gained from the Tax List for 1783<sup>25</sup> which records seven individuals owning "lots in Saint Michaels" with a total of two brick, three frame, and four log "dwellinghouses"; however, this is probably incomplete because a review of deeds and land transfers indicated a total of 20 persons probably owning lots in St. Michaels by the end of 1783. The "small brick house" of William Harrison in the Tax List is probably the existing building on lot 13 on Mulberry Street known as the "Amelia Welby House", now covered with wooden sheathing. It is also probable that this house was the residence of Philip Wetheral.<sup>26</sup>

The 1783 Tax List is of little value as a guide to the town's commercial development. John Bruff ("Wheelwright") had a "log shop", John Dorgan ("Blacksmith") had a "smith's shop", and Thomas Groves ("Mariner") had an "old shop". John Dorgan and John Bruff owned properties nearly opposite each other on the main road and it is probable that their shops were located there. However, Dorgan had purchased part of lot 58 at the foot of Chestnut Street in 1782 and he could have maintained a smithy there to serve the boat-building activity in the area.<sup>27</sup>

With regard to water-craft, the 4-acre lot number 14 is referred to as "The Shipyard" in its original deed made in 1784 (Table 2). Evidence that vessels were probably built on that site prior to the planning of the town may be found in Philip Wetheral's inventory which lists two 90-ton schooners under construction.<sup>28</sup> Although there is no record of the location of James Braddock's residence or place of business at St. Michaels, his inventory contains the following items: "the frame of a large boat and timber in the yard."<sup>29</sup> This vessel could have been under construction at "The Shipyard" which had not been sold by Braddock at the time of his death.

James Braddock's will is exceptionally short—only six lines. Dated 3 May 1782 he left "the blacksmith tools" to Thomas

Wrightson and the remainder of his estate, both real and personal, to John Thompson—"with paying all my debts".<sup>30</sup> The witnesses were William Hambleton, Rebecca Start, and William Davis. At probate, Davis stated that he had signed the next day (4 May) when Braddock showed him the will and he, Davis, said that he thought a document assigning so much property should have more than two witnesses. William Hambleton, William Davis, and John Thompson had been customers of Braddock's (Table 2).

Under the terms of Braddock's will all of his real estate became the property of John Thompson. Although Braddock never mentioned his English ties in his deeds, he must have used all or part of Gildart & Gawith's funds in his transactions.<sup>31</sup> Thompson was probably aware of the situation for in the 19 months between the death of Braddock and the arrival of Captain James Wignal, agent of Gildart & Gawith, Thompson sold only one original lot (number 50 to Perry Spencer) and resold one other lot, also to Perry Spencer, which he, Thompson, had purchased from Braddock in 1782 (Table 2).

The Treaty of Paris ending the Revolutionary War, ratified by the British on 3 September 1783, contained provisions for the recovery of debts owed to British nationals.<sup>32</sup> On 10 July 1783, Gildart & Gawith gave a comprehensive power of attorney to Captain James Wignal and dispatched him on a voyage to the Chesapeake, apparently for the purpose of salvaging as much as possible of the company's investments in what was now recognized as the State of Maryland by the British government.<sup>33</sup> James Braddock and St. Michaels are not mentioned in the document.

Although James Wignal recorded his power of attorney at Talbot Court House on 3 May 1784, he must have been active in the St. Michaels area before that date. The Talbot Land Record shows seven deeds bearing the "made" date of 4 May 1784.<sup>34</sup> For £600 specie Wignal bought all of Braddock's remaining real estate from John Thompson. He then sold back to Thompson for £500 specie lots 7 and 14 ("The Shipyard") and part of "Chance" and

"Janes Progress" south of the main road. He bought from John Dorgan the "acre" of ground (lots 22 and 23) which Dorgan had purchased from Braddock in 1781 and he made original sales of lots to Duncan Campbell, Ephraim Chick Toope, and to Thomas Groves. On the same date he sold "Mill Point" to William Harrison and John Thompson. In all of his transactions Wignal cited his power of attorney from Gildart & Gawith.

Exactly what transpired between Wignal and John Thompson is not clear from a study of the deeds. In spite of having sold "all" of Braddock's real estate to Wignal in May of 1784, Thompson was able to sell lot number 15 to William Harrison in June, 1784 and lot 43 to John Merchant in October, 1784, both transactions being original sales of these lots. Thompson mentioned his position as Braddock's legatee only in the deed transferring Braddock's property to Wignal and in the sale of lot 43 to Merchant.

Between 4 May 1784 and 28 October 1789 James Wignal disposed of all of the remaining original lots in Braddock's St. Michaels. There is an interval of five years between Wignal's last sale of numbered lots in 1784 and his final sales to the Marshalls in 1789. He disposed of the last of Braddock's undivided parcels to Robert Richardson in 1784 and to William Harrison in 1785.<sup>35</sup> In 1785 he had a "Private Act" passed by the Maryland Legislature<sup>36</sup> to enable him to sell the real estate of John Ashburner, deceased, who has been mentioned as one of the Baltimore agents of Gildart & Gawith. Presumably, he was also engaged in settling the company's affairs on the York, Rappahannock, and Potomac Rivers. The Gildart property at Oxford (if actually owned by the Company) seems to have been disposed of before the arrival of James Braddock.

The St. Michaels development was probably a financial disaster for Gildart & Gawith but there can be no doubt that the new town, though small, was firmly established by the end of the Revolution. This is in marked contrast to neighboring Oxford which suffered a rapid decline from 1775 onward. Oxford's economy, based on an already-failing tobacco trade,<sup>37</sup> was elimi-

nated by the War and lost forever to rapidly expanding Baltimore. St. Michaels had the advantage of a new venture offering small plots on a sheltered harbor available for the first time to men of moderate means and was kept alive by the development of a boat-building industry staffed by skilled craftsmen oriented toward the building of specialized seagoing vessels and bay craft.

The author is indebted to Mr. J. Gordon Read, Keeper of Archives, Liverpool, England, for information and suggestions regarding the English associations of James Braddock and Gildart & Gawith.

#### REFERENCES

1. In February, 1983 the Historical Society of Talbot County (hereafter HSTC) received a collection of records and family correspondence of the Cowgill family of Maryland and Delaware as a gift from Mr. Michael Richards of Camden, Delaware. With this material was a manuscript copy of the plat referred to in "A Certificate of the Land included within the Limits of Saint Michaels agreeably to the Act of Assembly Passed at November Session 1804", dated 25 August 1806. (Copy in Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, hereafter cited as MdHR). The survey was directed by an Act of the General Assembly passed 19 January 1805 which formally erected the town of St. Michaels. The "Certificate" bears an endorsement stating that it was recorded at Talbot County court house on 20 March 1821; however, it is not on file among the county land records. The plat referred to is not on file at either Easton or Annapolis and has apparently been lost. About 1929, the late Mr. Thomas F. Hubbard of St. Michaels drew a copy of the plat using the data contained in a photostat copy of the Act of 1805 now in the town office of St. Michaels. It differs from the surviving portion of the HSTC plat mainly in the configuration of the shoreline. A copy of Mr. Hubbard's plat is on file at the Talbot County court house and it has been reproduced in several publications including the pamphlet by Gilbert Byron, *St. Michaels, the Town that Fooled the British*, Easton, 1963.
2. Little is known of James Braddock other than his association with Gildart & Gawith. Baines (see ref. 7) lists a William Braddock as a Liverpool bailiff associated with Richard Gildart in 1712. Although the date of record of James Braddock's power of attorney and the witnesses to it suggest that he arrived in Maryland on the ship *Johnson* in early 1775, his name is included in a supplementary list of debtors of the estate of Philip Wetheral, dated 31 October 1774. Wetheral died in 1773 and Braddock's name on a list dated 1774 is difficult to explain unless it is assumed that he had been in the area prior to 1775. Gildart ships, especially the *Johnson*, were making at least one trip a year to Maryland between 1772 and 1775 and it is possible that Braddock had been on one of these and returned to England. ("An Additional

List of Balances Due the Estate of the Late Philip Weatherall of Talbot County decd., and Taken from the Smith Shop Books", Inventories from the Prerogative Court, Liber W.F. #5, 1774, pp. 129-135, MdHR; Oxford Port of Entry Book. Microfilm, Talbot County Free Library)

- James Braddock is listed among those who took the "Oath of Fidelity" in Talbot County in 1778 and as a member of Thomas Hopkins' Company of the 38th Battalion of the Maryland Militia of 1778. It is noteworthy that there were twelve men in Hopkins' Company who were purchasers of original lots in St. Michaels. (Albert Levin Richardson, *The Oath of Fidelity in Talbot County*, pp. 106-114, and *Revolutionary Militia—Some Names of the Officers and Privates in the Talbot County Forces*, pp. 86-105, Bul. No. 3, The Md. Original Research Society of Baltimore, 1913; reprinted, Buls. 1,2,3 in one vol., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973).
3. Talbot County Land Record, (hereafter cited as TCLR), 20:428, 1775.
  4. Oxford Port of Entry Book. Microfilm, Talbot County Free Library.
  5. TCLR, 12:174, 1713.
  6. *Ibid.*, 12:229, 1715. The wording is as follows: "... owners of the Good Ship Elizabeth of Liverpool and of a settlement and factory to them belonging at Oxford in Tred Avon Creek. ..."
  7. Thomas Baines. *History of Commerce and Town of Liverpool*, (Liverpool: Thomas Baines, 1852), Appendix, pp. 11, 12.
  8. The Baltimore agents of Gildart & Gawith were Ashburner & Place. (*Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis. 13 July 1775).
  9. Charles R. Gildart. *The Gildart-Geldart Families*, (San Rafael, Cal., Charles R. Gildart, 1962), p. 20; Bills of Lading, Carroll Papers, Maryland Historical Society.
  10. Gildart, *The Gildart-Geldart Families*, p. 21.
  11. Oswald Tilghman. *History of Talbot County Maryland 1661-1861*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, Co., 1915)2:66-70.
  12. Kenneth Scott, "Runaways, Excerpts from the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1775-1783", *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 64(1976):225; TCLR 20:552, 1776; 21:140, 1780.
  13. TCLR, 12:88, 1709; 17:210, 1736; Tilghman, (op.cit. p. 378) notes that Gildart factor James Edge is buried beneath the church at St. Michaels.
  14. Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 93-107.
  15. Tilghman, op.cit. pp.69,70.
  16. Members of the Committee of Observation who became customers of James Braddock were: Thomas Harrison, William Hambleton, and Richard Skinner. (Tilghman, op.cit. p. 65)
  17. There is little background information regarding Philip Wetheral. He calls himself "merchant" in his deeds (see ref. 18) while in another deed made after his death he is referred to as "Captain Wetheral" (TCLR 21:184, 1779). As a "merchant of Talbot County" he purchased a brick dwelling house, outbuildings, and a wharf at Fredericktown in Cecil County in 1769 (Cecil County Land Record 11:431, 1769). When inventoried after his death in 1773, the list of dry-goods, hardware, and household items ran to nine pages! (Inventories from the Prerogative Court, Liber W.F. #6, 1774, pp. 149-158. MdHR) A. L. Richardson mentions a "ship *Bernard*", Philip Wetheral, Master among others trading with Maryland but the date and source are not given. (Albert Levin Richardson, op. cit. p. 32). The Oxford Port of Entry Books, 1759-1773 (microfilm, Talbot County Free Library) contain three entries for the year 1768 for the ship *Good Intent* of London, showing Philip Wetheral of London and Stockton as one of the owners. The last entry, 25 December 1768 lists a Robert Richardson as Master! (see text)
  18. Philip Wetheral's Talbot County land acquisitions: TCLR, 20:49, 1769; 20:236, 1772.
  19. Gen. Ass. Md., Sess. 17 March - 22 Apr. 1778, Chapter 4. (A Private Act) vol. GR p. 176.
  20. Samuel Tenant obtained an "Unpatented Certificate of Survey" in 1809 for lots 9, 10,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of lot 21, and all of lots 22 and 23, naming the tract "The Polygon" (MHR:Talbot 239). Lots 9 and 10 and the  $\frac{3}{4}$  of lot 21 had not been sold by Braddock and were never claimed by John Thompson or James Wignal. Likewise, Wignal never disposed of lots 22 and 23 which he had bought from John Dorgan in 1784 (see text). Tenant was the surveyor for the commissioners selected to oversee the erection of the new "Town of St. Michaels" between 1804 and 1806 and was in position to know the status of the "escheated" lots. There is no record of any legal action opposed to his acquisition of the properties and it is possible that he was permitted to keep them as the "fee" for his services! Tenant sold the  $\frac{3}{4}$  of 21, 22, and 23 to Wrightson Jones in 1816 (TCLR 38:424), calling the tract "The Pentagon". Lots 9 and 10 were awarded to Tenant's daughter Mary in the division of her father's estate in 1839 and sold by her to James M. Seth in 1852 (*ibid.* 64:410).
  21. John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), p. 232.
  22. Tilghman, op.cit. p.391.
  23. As mentioned above, and in Table 2., Braddock had disposed of 38 lots, 37 by sale and one-half of each of lots 37 and 38 to the Methodist Church by gift.
  24. John Rolle, "Gent.", to William Pearcy. TCLR 21:102, 1779.
  25. Talbot County Tax List, 1783, Bay and Mill Hundreds. Scharff Col., Microfilm. Talbot County Free Library.
  26. "Inventory of the goods, chattels and credits of Philip Wetheral late of Talbot County, deceased appraised by us the subscribers in current money of Maryland viz. effects in Talbot County", Inventories from the Prerogative Court, Liber W.F. #6, 1774, pp. 158-166. MdHR. The Appraisers were Henry Banning and Thomas Harrison, both of St. Michaels Parish. The considerable inventory indicates a house of some size and a mention of vessels under construction indicates proximity to

- the water. The size and age of the "Amelia Welby House" and its proximity to the "The Shipyard", both part of Wetheral's "The Beach" are in favor of this site as his residence in Talbot County.
27. John Bruff, "Wheelwright" (later "Joiner"), purchased an un-numbered lot from James Braddock on the south side of the main road in 1781 (TCLR 21:223, 1781), for the apparently very high price of £180 specie. John Dorgan, "Blacksmith", had purchased two lots (un-numbered in the deed, but later numbers 22 and 23) from James Braddock (Table 2). In 1782 he bought part of lot 58 from Jonathan Spencer, "Shipwright" (TCLR 21:265, 1782). He bought the remainder of the lot in 1784 from Thomas Groves, "Mariner", who by this time was the owner. This is also an indication of the rate at which some of the properties were changing hands. (TCLR 21:423, 1784)
  28. See reference 26. The wording of the Inventory is: "2 schooners on the stocks 90 tons each supposed to be nearly 1/3 built together with all the trunnels and timber unmarked in the yard . . . £160" Also listed is "1 ships long boat, 18 feet keel".
  29. Talbot County Inventories, Liber J.B.A., pp. 144,145, 1782. Microfilm, Talbot County Court House.
  30. Talbot County Wills, Liber J.B. 3, p. 144, 1782. Microfilm, Talbot County Court House. A possible explanation of the "blacksmith's tools" may be found in Philip Wetheral's purchase of "The Beach" from James Hewes, *blacksmith* in 1772. (See ref. 18 and also ref. 2 regarding the "Smith Shop Books".
  31. The first transaction of James Wignal (TCLR, 21:417, 1784) in which he purchased all of Braddock's remaining real estate from John Thompson states: "whereas James Braddock was *in arrears* with Gildart & Gawith . . .".
  32. U.S. Dept. of State, *Treaties and Conventions Concluded Between the United States of America and Other Powers, Since July 4, 1776*, Rev. Ed., Washington, Government Printing Office, 1873, p. 309 and p. 316. Article IV. of both the Provisional Articles, signed 30 November 1782 and of the Definitive Treaty, ratified by the British, 3 September 1783 is concerned with the recovery of debts.
  33. TCLR, 21:395, 1784. Wignal's power of attorney refers to the Province of Virginia and Maryland! James Wignal had been in the Chesapeake in 1773 as captain of the *Nassau*. (Tilghman Papers, Md. Historical Society., Bill of Lading, dated 29 July 1773).
  34. TCLR 21:417 (Thompson to Wignal); 21:413 (Wignal to Thompson); 21:415 (Dorgan to Wignal) all 1784. See Table 2 for the original lot sales to Campbell, Toope, Groves, and Harrison-Thompson. Thompson's land, the part of "Chance" and "James Progress" south of the main road, became "Thompson's Square" on the 1806 survey of the town.
  35. TCLR 22:36, 1784 (Wignal to Richardson); 22:168, 1785 (Wignal to Harrison).
  36. An Act to Empower James Wignal to sell the Real Estate of John Ashburner, deceased, for the payment of his debts. Chap. 71, 1784, Liber TBH, No. A, p. 539, passed 22 January 1785.
  37. John W. Tyler, "Foster Cunliffe and Sons: Liverpool Merchants in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1738-1765," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 73 (September, 1978):246-279.

# W-25: The Davidsonville Site and Maryland Air Defense, 1950–1974

MERLE T. COLE

**D**RIVING WEST ALONG MARYLAND route 214 (Central Avenue) from Annapolis, the traveler encounters a stop light at the junction with Route 424. Seven-tenths of a mile past the light, across from the Davidsonville Elementary School, a somewhat narrower hard-surface road angles in from the left. Queen Anne Bridge Road alternates between straight stretches and twisting turns. The scenery varies from open fields and neatly maintained homes to thick woods crowding the berm. A mile from Central Avenue, Queen Anne Bridge Road joins a pleasant country lane called Wayson Road. At this intersection, a small yellow sign carries the warning "MILITARY ENTRANCE." On the left, in the "V" formed by the junction of the two roads, stands a somewhat sinister looking facility: one-story buildings enclosed by a chain link security fence, topped by strands of barbed wire and coils of rusting barbed tape. Incongruously, a metal sign attached to the fence announces "ANNE ARUNDEL RADIO CLUB." Just down Wayson Road, another sign, this one green, points along Elmer F. Hagner Lane to the entrance of the Anne Arundel County Police Academy. If the traveller, like many who happen upon this scene, slows to investigate, he will notice signs on the buildings conveying distinctly civilian activities: a Boy Scout troop and a day care center. Suspended from a dilapidated guard shack, a small wooden plaque identifies "D.F.R.C." The Davidsonville Family Recreation Center now occupies a site which was once part of the last-ditch defensive screen around the nation's capital.

More accurately, the facility provided one segment of an aerial "umbrella." Located less than 20 air miles from the U.S. Capitol building, it was the fire control center of a Nike-Hercules surface-to-air missile (SAM) battery. The buildings and shelters now used to train police cadets housed the "business end" of the battery. Twelve missiles, each tipped with a nuclear warhead, lurked in concrete shelters, ready to destroy any Soviet bombers which had managed to evade Air Force interceptors. The Hercules missiles were never fired, for the bombers never came. The story of the Davidsonville facilities, known in military parlance as "Site W-25," is illustrative of the broader story of air defense operations which shielded the Baltimore-Washington area from the mid-1950s to late 1973. It is a story largely untold.

## NATIONAL AND CONTINENTAL AIR DEFENSE

America's air defense program sprang from the experiences of the Second World War, in which Allied bomber raids had inflicted severe blows to Germany's ability to sustain its war effort by progressive destruction of industrial, transportation and military centers. Hundreds of thousands of German civilians in such cities as Dresden, Hamburg and Berlin paid the price as the Luftwaffe's flak, radar and night fighter capabilities were demolished. In the Far East, America's relentless "strategic bombardment" offensive incinerated Japan's five largest cities, culminating in the nuclear devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The battles for air supremacy left an awesome legacy to the post-war world: jet fighters and bombers, nuclear weapons,

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Mr. Cole is Public Affairs Officer for 5th Security Battalion, Maryland State Guard.

long-range missiles, and thick antiaircraft belts around critical locations.

Distilling this experience and assessing the post-war threats, the American military created a system of overlapping defenses to protect the Continental United States (CONUS) from aerial attack by the Soviet Union. At this time, the ultimate air weapon was the manned bomber, although attention was being devoted to perfecting reliable ballistic missiles of intercontinental range. The planners were spurred by Russia's detonation of an atomic bomb in September 1949 and a hydrogen bomb four years later.

As early as February 1949, the House Committee on Armed Services had recommended allocation of \$85.5 million for establishment of a land-based radar air warning and control system. The plan envisioned eight Air Force-commanded air defense areas, encompassing all of CONUS, for peacetime operation, to be supplemented with a further twelve areas by Air National Guard mobilization in the event of war. The Air Force was assigned principal responsibility for, and command and control over, CONUS air defense, with the sister services providing forces as required. During 1948, this division of effort had been hammered out in the so-called Key West and Norfolk "roles and missions" agreements, subsequently formalized in Department of Defense Directive 5100.1.<sup>1</sup>

Among its myriad missions, the Army was assigned an air defense role: to "organize, train and equip . . . antiaircraft artillery units" and "to provide Army forces as required for the defense of the United States against air attack . . ."<sup>2</sup> The Army did not, however, create a specific air defense command until July 1, 1950, immediately after the Korean War erupted. On that day, the Army Antiaircraft Command, commonly known by the acronym ARAACOM, was activated. Even though it was a major command reporting directly to the Army Chief of Staff, ARAACOM initially had only planning and training oversight functions. Not until April 10, 1951, did it assume actual command of Army air defense units. By July of that year, ARAACOM directed a total of 38 antiaircraft

artillery battalions from its headquarters at Ent Air Force Base, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Half of those battalions were Regular Army, and the remainder were in the Army National Guard. Guard units were included under a September 1952 agreement, primarily because the Regular Army had insufficient battalions to meet mission requirements. The first Guard on-site battery opened in March 1954 at New York City. In August 1954, ARAACOM became Army's contribution to the U.S. Continental Air Defense Command (CONAD), a unified command under Air Force executive control. CONAD was charged with the overall defense of CONUS, including Alaska, from air attack. Army air defense forces in Alaska, however, remained under a separate command (U.S. Army, Alaska) rather than being subordinate to ARAACOM.<sup>3</sup>

Antiaircraft artillery unit deployment patterns and organization structures were founded on a basic precept of air defense doctrine. Since it was obviously impossible to protect all of CONUS, it was necessary to concentrate available resources around critical industrial, military and civilian population centers—the primary objectives of an air attack. Initially 23 vital areas were selected by the Joint Chiefs of Staff for coverage. On-site antiaircraft firing batteries were controlled by Air Force air defense direction centers, which also controlled fighter-interceptor aircraft. Conventional gun strength peaked in 1953 at 61 gun battalions, comprising mostly "left over" World War II ordnance: 90-mm. and 120-mm. cannon, 40-mm. and .50-calibre multiple automatic weapons. A few firing batteries boasted the most sophisticated anti-aircraft guns ever fielded by the United States, the radar-directed 75-mm. Sky-sweeper. But even this superior weapon was inadequate to match the performance of jet aircraft, which would become increasingly prevalent in Russia's inventory after 1953. A contract for development of an Army SAM had been let in February 1945. This project came to fruition in December 1953, when the first operational Nike-Ajax went into service with the 36th Antiaircraft Ar-

tillery (AAA) Missile Battalion, at Fort George G. Meade, Maryland.

The Ajax, first in a series of guided missiles developed under the Nike program, permitted a radical change in Army air defense deployment. Ajax was a pencil shaped, liquid-fueled missile with a solid propellant booster which fell away after burnout. The missile (without booster) was 34 feet long, with a one-foot diameter and weighing nearly one ton at launch. It carried three high-explosive warheads, aggregating 300 pounds, to a maximum range of 25 nautical miles, and a maximum altitude of 11 miles, at Mach 2.5.<sup>4</sup> Being radar guided, the Ajax was vastly more efficient than conventional gun artillery: a single missile was employed to be capable of destroying targets which an entire battalion of 16 120-mm. guns would have to fire 600 rounds, at maximum rate, to equal. Advent of Ajax permitted ARAACOM to phase out large numbers of Regular Army gun batteries. By 1955, there were more missile than gun batteries in the Regular Army, and conversion to "all missile" was completed in June 1960. Equally significant, because of Ajax's extended range, fire units could now be relocated from "downtown" sites, and still destroy attacking aircraft before they reached their bomb-release line.<sup>5</sup>

In January 1956, the Secretary of Defense assigned ARAACOM exclusive responsibility for SAM's used in "point" or local defense. On March 21, 1957, ARAACOM was redesignated Army Air Defense Command (ARADCOM), since the term "anti-aircraft"—associated with gun batteries—had fallen into disfavor. Six months later, CONAD (including ARADCOM) became the American contribution to NORAD—the joint U.S.-Canadian North American Air Defense Command. Under a bilateral treaty, the NORAD commander (an Air Force general) was responsible for coordinating all continental air defense activities. The Canadian and American air forces were responsible for detecting targets at the earliest moment, identifying targets as friend or foe and engaging the targets at maximum range to destroy them, turn them back, or at least reduce their number—"inflict attrition," in military parlance.

(Thus, "area defense" was an Air Force mission, as opposed to the "point" defense role of ARADCOM.) A manned bomber surveillance network accomplished the detection function through the Distant Early Warning and Mid-Canada radar lines. Off-shore, radar coverage was extended by "barrier forces" comprising picket ships, Air Force and Navy radar aircraft patrols, and "Texas tower" radar stations. Data from early warning radars were fed into SAGE (Semi-Automatic Ground Environment), an Air Force sector-level command and control system. Sectors were "the basic unit for fighting the air battle." and constituted a subdivision of the broad regions into which NORAD had divided the continent. SAGE centers attempted to identify intruders, and in turn fed tracking data to Air Force and ARADCOM control and direction centers. When the intruder entered a band of "contiguous radar coverage" overlapping the United States-Canadian border, SAGE would initiate attack by "scrambling" fighter-interceptor squadrons and launching Bomarc missiles. (The Bomarc was a nuclear tipped, ramjet powered guided missile with a range of 400 miles at Mach 2.5, operated by the Canadian and American air forces.) If the area defense provided by these weapons failed, SAGE continued tracking and passed information to ARADCOM fire control units. ARADCOM's Nike batteries then came into play as "the ultimate defense" of the protected localities. Battery fire was coordinated by an Army Air Defense Command Post (AADCP), operating either the Missile Master or BIRDIE (Battery Integration and Radar Display Equipment) systems. Missile Master, which first became operational with the 35th Artillery Brigade at Fort Meade in December 1957, assured that no unengaged intruder aircraft penetrated the defended area and that only one battery attacked a particular target. The system could coordinate a maximum of 24 firing batteries. BIRDIE could control up to 16 batteries.<sup>6</sup>

ARADCOM's ultimate air defense missile arrived on the scene in mid-1958, when Hercules, second of the Nike family, began to replace Ajax in several batteries. Devel-

opment of the new missile had begun the same year Ajax became operational (1953). Hercules, like Ajax, heralded a significant expansion of air defense capability. Solid-fueled to facilitate launching preparation and reliability, the dart-shaped Hercules measured 42 feet long and 3 feet in diameter, blasting off at 5 tons. With four boosters, Hercules streaked toward its target at Mach 3.6, reaching a maximum altitude of 29 miles with a range of 80 nautical miles. Unlike Ajax, Hercules devastated attacking bomber formations with a 120-pound nuclear warhead. (Conventional high-explosive warheads were also fitted to some Hercules.)<sup>7</sup>

ARADCOM strength peaked in 1963, with 184 firing units (134 Regular Army, 50 National Guard) on-site. However, beginning in September 1968, the command was subjected to almost annual realignments and reductions. On February 4, 1974, the Defense Department announced that ARADCOM would be inactivated, excepting the 31st Air Defense Artillery Brigade, which had been activated during the Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962) and would remain on duty in southern Florida. By December 31, 1974, ARADCOM's remaining regional headquarters, eight groups, 13 battalion headquarters, and 48 Hercules firing batteries were closed out. ARADCOM headquarters was inactivated January 4, 1975.<sup>8</sup>

ARADCOM and its subordinate units has fallen victim to technological advances, interservice rivalry, experiences in the Vietnam War (where conventional gun batteries proved deadlier than Soviet-supplied SAMs), and international arms reduction movements. The Defense Department had been aware of Russia's increasing reliance on ICBMs in lieu of manned bombers. Since 1955 ARADCOM and the Army Department had been the most persistent advocates of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) development and deployment. The Army's Nike-Zeus ABM program had been abruptly terminated in 1963, and the apparent salvation heralded by the Sentinel/Safeguard ABM program—for which ARADCOM was assigned operational responsibility—was negated by signature of the 1972

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. SALT effectively killed all United States ABM preparations, and with them ARADCOM's last chance to claim a viable mission.<sup>9</sup> One source succinctly summarized the rationale for deactivating the command:

As the United States [by signing the SALT accords] has relinquished the option for continental defense against strategic missiles, the Department of Defense has placed a lesser priority of maintenance of the existing posture of defense against manned aircraft.

Future efforts will be directed toward operations that will provide long-range warning of a bomber attack and improved air space surveillance and control.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE WASHINGTON-BALTIMORE DEFENSE

Responsibility for air defense of the national capital was assigned to the 35th AAA Brigade, which transferred from Fort Bliss, Texas, to Fort Meade in February 1950. Major components of the brigade included a group headquarters and four battalions. During 1951 the mission was expanded to include planning the defenses of Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Norfolk. Special emphasis on implementing Baltimore's defense came in October of that year. Additional group headquarters and battalions arrived during 1951 and early 1952 as the brigade built up to full strength. In April 1952, these units began moving to their permanent sites, a phase completed by July 31. The 208th AAA Group defended Baltimore, while the 19th AAA Group secured the nation's capital.

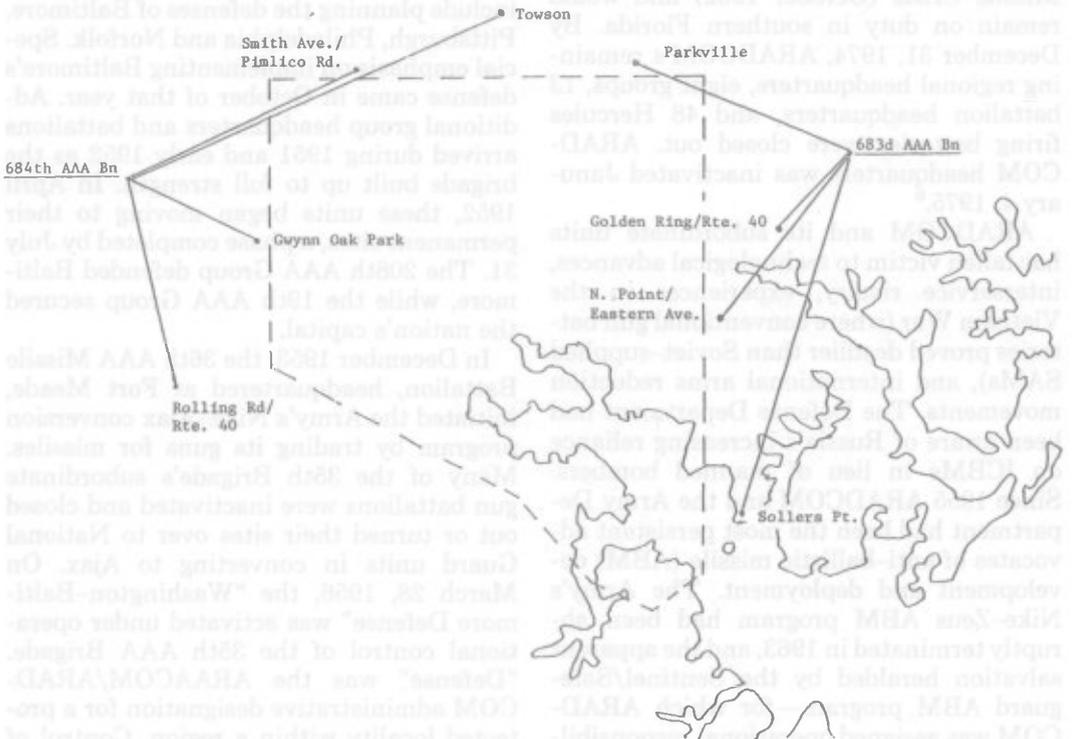
In December 1953, the 36th AAA Missile Battalion, headquartered at Fort Meade, initiated the Army's Nike-Ajax conversion program by trading its guns for missiles. Many of the 35th Brigade's subordinate gun battalions were inactivated and closed out or turned their sites over to National Guard units in converting to Ajax. On March 28, 1956, the "Washington-Baltimore Defense" was activated under operational control of the 35th AAA Brigade. "Defense" was the ARAACOM/ARADCOM administrative designation for a protected locality within a region. Control of tactical units (groups, battalions and bat-

teries) within a defense was exercised by brigades such as the 35th until December 1973, at which time brigade echelons fell to the budget ax and were replaced by groups (the 23d for Washington-Baltimore).<sup>11</sup>

Maryland military forces entered the expanding air defense picture in November 1955, when the Army Department allotted the 683d AAA Battalion (90-mm. Gun) to Maryland's Guard. The new battalion was organized and federally recognized November 21. Lt. Col. Thomas F. Cadwalader, Jr., was named commanding officer, with headquarters at the Golden Ring/Route 40 site, one of four turned over by the Regular Army's 602d AAA Battalion. The other sites were: Moore Avenue/Oakleigh Road (Parkville), North Point/Eastern Avenue, and Sollers Point. On October 1, 1956, a second antiaircraft battalion, the 684th, was allotted and federally recognized. Command was entrusted to Lt. Col. George M. Gelston, headquartered in Towson. Gelston's unit assumed control of four additional sites on the Baltimore perimeter,

formerly manned by the 89th AAA Battalion (Regular Army): Smith Avenue/Pimlico Road, Gwynn Oak Park, Rolling Road/Route 40 and York Road (near the present Beltway junction). Four sites on the city's southern edge, including the air raid warning system, were manned by the Regular 35th AAA Battalion until inactivated in December 1957.<sup>12</sup>

The decision to reassign antiaircraft artillery gun sites to National Guard units was part of a nationwide plan aimed at freeing Regulars to man the new Ajax sites. Guard operation of gun sites was also considered more economical since dormitories, mess halls, and other amenities required by Regulars could be dispensed with when "home town" troops were assigned. The 90-mm. guns, which fired a 24-pound explosive shell to an effective ceiling of 7.5 miles, were retained in locality defense schemes to "deal with any bombers which might get through" the rapidly forming Ajax screen. Getting state units operational proved a considerable task. Neither guns nor am-



MAP 1. Army National Guard AAA Battery Sites: 1955-1959.

munition were authorized until the battalions could recruit to minimum operational strength, including the critical complement of skilled radar, electronic and fire control technicians. In this regard, Maryland faced the same difficulty as other states participating in the on-site program. Shortages were so acute that normal age limits for new enlistees and reenlistees were liberalized nationwide. Even after guns and ammunition were received, Guardsmen were not permitted to fire their weapons except in case of actual attack. This prohibition was necessary due to the siting of the batteries in heavily populated areas where muzzle blast and falling shell fragments would prove hazardous. Practice firing, against radio-controlled drones, was accomplished at the antiaircraft artillery range at Fort Miles (Bethany Beach), Delaware.

Each battalion was authorized 540 men. Recruitment efforts concentrated on men living in the general vicinity of battery sites, under a concept which envisioned crews functioning somewhat like a rural volunteer fire brigade: when the alarm sounded, crewmen were to rush to their guns to assist the one officer and 15 Guardsmen on full-time duty there. During the recruitment period, the gunless sites served as quasi-social centers, where family gatherings were held and food was provided to the needy on holidays.<sup>13</sup>

In October 1957, Maj. Gen. Milton A. Reckord, state adjutant general, announced the Army National Guard had been directed to take over five Ajax sites around Baltimore. Following a period of on-site training and formal schooling at the Army Air Defense School, Fort Bliss, men of the 683d and 684th would forsake their obsolete 90-mm. guns and move into the Jacksonville, Granite, Fork, Cronhardt and Fort Smallwood Ajax sites. This conversion was part of a nationwide Army plan, formally announced in December 1957, to upgrade Guard capabilities while releasing Regulars for Hercules duty. The plan bore first fruit in September 1958, when California's 720th AAA Missile Battalion, the test unit, took over an Ajax site in the Los Angeles Defense. The conversion program was com-

plete by June 1961, with Guardsmen operating a total of 76 Ajax sites.<sup>14</sup>

In anticipation of this weaponry change, Maryland's gun battalions were reorganized and redesignated 683d and 684th Missile Battalions (Nike), effective January 15, 1958. Similar reorganizations came to Virginia's 125th (Alexandria) and the District of Columbia's 340th and 380th gun battalions.<sup>15</sup>

On March 1, 1959, the National Guard Bureau authorized General Reckord to activate two more air defense units. Headquarters and Headquarters Battery (HHB)—691st Artillery Group (Air Defense) would serve as the tactical command for the state's growing air defense contingent. The group commander was also designated State Air Defense Officer (SADO). A new fire unit, the 103d Missile Battalion (Nike-Ajax) was allotted simultaneously, to permit Marylanders to occupy two sites which, although situated in southern Maryland, were previously manned by the District of Columbia Guard. (The District's missile battalions were converted to other types of Guard units.) The 103d—an HHB and two rather than the usual four firing batteries—was immediately redesignated "686th," but was never actually organized. Instead, the 683d, 684th and 686th were consolidated into 70th Artillery, a "parent regiment" under the Army's Combat Arms Regimental System (CARS). Since the 684th was the "senior" battalion, its coat of arms and distinctive insignia were assigned to 70th Artillery. By June 1, state air defense forces were aligned as shown in Table 1.<sup>16</sup>

On Wednesday, September 23, 1959, the first two Ajax sites were formally turned over to state troops under an "interim agreement" between General Reckord and the ARADCOM commander. Battery D—1st Missile Battalion (Lt. Col. Carl W. Schmidt) moved to Fork (Site Baltimore-09), while Battery D—2d Missile Battalion (Lt. Col. Joseph E. Howell) took over at Cronhardt (Site BA-92). At that time, ARADCOM planned for Maryland's Guard to inherit Ajax sites at Granite and Fort Smallwood by January 1960, to be followed by Croom Station, Accokeek and Gaithers-

TABLE 1.  
Army National Guard Air Defense Forces: June 1, 1959

Prior Designation	New Designation	Location
HHB, 691st AAA Gp	HHB, 691st Arty Gp (Air Def)	Towson
HHB, 683d Msl Bn (Nike)	HHB, 1st Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Baltimore
Btry A, 683d Msl Bn (Nike)	Btry A, 1st Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Fort Smallwood
Btry B, 683d Msl Bn (Nike)	Btry B, 1st Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Baltimore
Btry C, 683d Msl Bn (Nike)	Btry C, 1st Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Baltimore
Btry D, 683d Msl Bn (Nike)	Btry D, 1st Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Baltimore
HHB, 684th Msl Bn (Nike)	HHB, 2d Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Towson
Btry A, 684th Msl Bn (Nike)	Btry A, 2d Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Catonsville
Btry B, 684th Msl Bn (Nike)	Btry B, 2d Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Baltimore
Btry C, 684th Msl Bn (Nike)	Btry C, 2d Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Pikesville
Btry D, 684th Msl Bn (Nike)	Btry D, 2d Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Towson
HHB, 686th Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax)	HHB, 3d Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Accokeek
Btry A, 686th Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax)	Btry A, 2d Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Accokeek
Btry B, 686th Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax)	Btry B, 3d Msl Bn (Nike-Ajax), 70th Arty	Croom Station

burg six months later.<sup>17</sup> Station changes occurred over the next two years as missile unit requirements were refined. HHB-3d Battalion transferred from Accokeek to Suitland, and D-2d Battalion from Towson to Cronhardt, in July 1959. Just over two years later, A-3d Battalion closed out Accokeek and transferred to Mattawoman (La Plata).<sup>18</sup>

In January 1961, the Army Department announced yet another phase of national air defense planning: Hercules deployment would be speeded up, and nearly 70 Ajax sites closed as a result. On March 16, 1962, Maryland made history as the first state to sign an agreement with ARADCOM for eventual takeover of four Hercules sites, with the seven Ajax sites inactivating. The overall ARADCOM plan called for 15 states to operate 48 Hercules batteries by the end of Fiscal Year 1965. Maryland Guardsmen got an early taste of the seriousness of their mission. During the October 1962 Cuban

Missile Crisis, state troops fresh from Hercules training "assisted understrength active Army units in . . . manning their sites . . ." On December 11, 1962, Maryland scored another first when Site W-26 (Annapolis-Bay Bridge) passed from A-1st-562d Artillery to Battery A (Capt. John A. Thompson)—1st-70th Artillery, in a change of command ceremony attended by Lt. Gen. William W. Dick, Jr. (ARADCOM commander) and General Reckord. W-26 had been converted to Hercules in September 1961, and Battery A was thus the first ARADCOM Guard unit to acquire Hercules.<sup>19</sup>

Because Hercules was vastly superior to Ajax, fewer sites were required; this led to a corresponding reduction in Guard air defense strength. Seventieth Artillery's 2d and 3d Battalions were reorganized and redesignated March 1, 1963, forming parts of other Army Guard units. HHB-691st Artillery Group (AD) was also reorganized



PHOTOGRAPH 1. Maryland Guardsmen of 3d–70th Artillery with Nike-Ajax, 1960.  
(U.S. Army Photo SC-576509)

and redesignated at this time, leaving 1st Missile Battalion (Nike–Hercules)–70th Artillery as Maryland’s sole air defense unit. The battalion operated sites as shown in Map 2. Effective January 1, 1966, the unit was redesignated 1st Battalion (Nike–Hercules)–70th Artillery.<sup>20</sup>

For the next five years, the Guard air defense structure remained stable. In September 1968, however, the Army Department announced a major reduction in ARADCOM strength: 23 Hercules batteries and seven headquarters were to be closed. On November 1, Site W–26 (Annapolis–Bay Bridge) was inactivated, and control of Davidsonville passed to Battery A–1st–70th Artillery. The former occupant—Battery B–4th–1st Artillery (Regular Army)—was placed in an “active less personnel and equipment” status. Among the dignitaries at the change of command ceremonies was Maj. Gen. George M. Gelston, commanding

Maryland’s Army National Guard. As a lieutenant colonel, Gelston had been the first commander of 684th AAA Battalion in 1956.<sup>21</sup>

A second nationwide cutback came in 1971, this time resulting in an actual loss of battalion strength. Battery C, stationed at Waldorf, was reorganized and converted to a different type of Army Guard unit May 23. The other elements of 1st–70th Artillery were not affected. The final change before inactivation came April 1, 1972, when 70th Artillery was redesignated 70th Air Defense Artillery (ADA). Under CARS, 70th ADA continued the coat of arms and distinctive insignia of the 683d.<sup>22</sup>

The Washington–Baltimore–Norfolk Defense stood down April 1, 1974, part of the second increment of ARADCOM inactivation. At that time the defense, commanded by 23d ADA Group at Fort Meade, comprised a Regular Army battalion (4th–1st



MAP 2. Army National Guard Air Defense Sites: March 1, 1963.

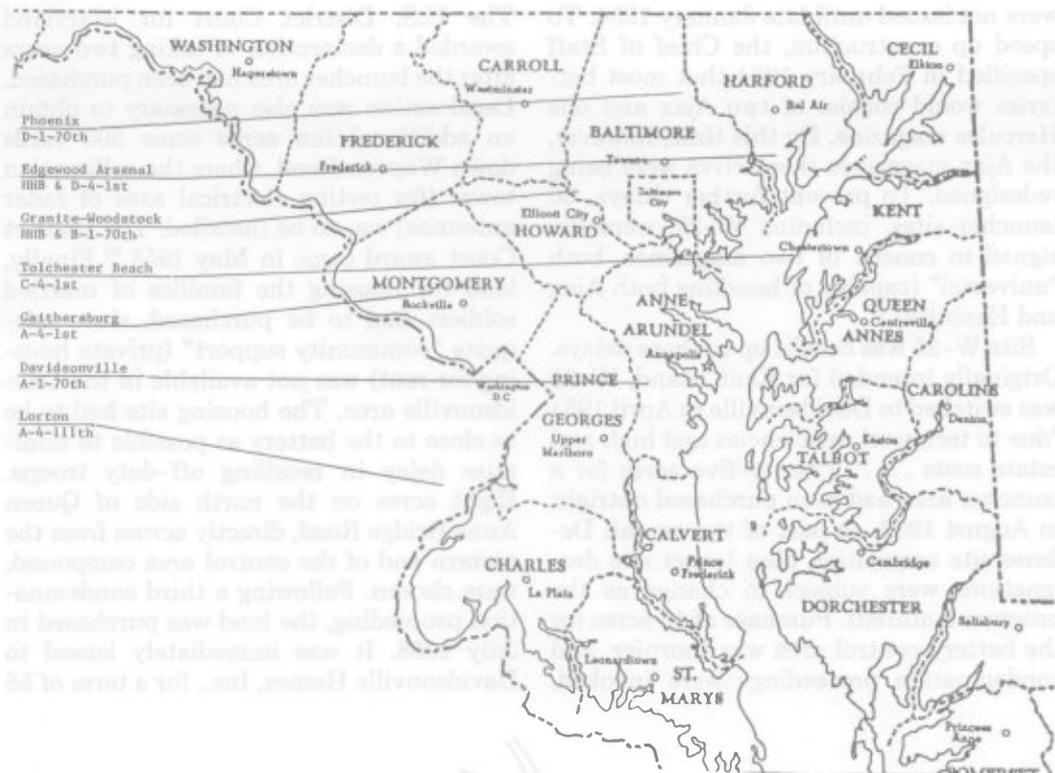
ADA) and two National Guard battalions (see Map 3). In addition to 1st-70th ADA, Virginia's 4th-111th ADA had been subordinated in the 1971 realignment, when the former Hampton Roads Defense was inactivated. HHB and two firing batteries of 4th-111th ADA joined Battery A (Lorton, Site W-64), which had always been a part of the Washington-Baltimore Defense.<sup>23</sup>

National Guard officials from 17 states gathered at Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, Pennsylvania, on September 14, 1974, to conduct a mass retirement of the colors of Guard units which had participated in the Hercules on-site program. Maryland was represented by Brig. Gen. William U. Ogletree, commanding the Army National Guard; Col. Norman A. P. Miller, State Air Defense Officer; Lt. Col. John A. Thompson, commanding 1st-70th ADA; and CW2 John N. T. Rhoads, administrative assistant to Col. Miller. An elaborate ceremony, featuring honors rendered

by Pennsylvania Army and Air National Guard units, was highlighted by formal casing of unit colors. Official inactivation of 1st-70th ADA, and withdrawal of federal recognition, came September 30, 1974. The Maryland Army National Guard's air defense mission passed into memory.<sup>24</sup>

#### SITE W-25

In April 1953, Nike-Ajax sites were given top priority in the Army military construction budget, with the objective of having battery sites in the Washington-Baltimore, New York, Chicago and Detroit Defenses ready for occupancy by December 1, 1953. Number one on the priority list was the 36th AAA Missile Battalion, Washington-Baltimore Defense. Since delays in acquiring private property were expected, initial emphasis was placed on sites on government-owned land. The battalion took up its temporary positions at Fort Meade on schedule, but encountered serious delays in moving to permanent sites, originally planned for October 1954.<sup>25</sup>



MAP 3. ARADCOM Sites in the Washington-Baltimore Defense: September 1974.

Selection of suitable battery sites, and acquisitions of land parcels thus identified, proved "major obstacles to the expeditious deployment of Nike units throughout the United States." Where possible, public lands were chosen, even though optimum defense and tactical considerations might dictate otherwise. But there was insufficient public land in the defended areas, and extensive compromise would obviously prove detrimental to the air defense program.

By far the greatest number of battery sites had to be located on privately-owned land, and in most instances, high real estate costs and adverse reaction by owners made the acquisition problems acute. Very specific and restrictive standards had to be applied to the location. The general public, not knowing the necessity for interrelationship and topographic configuration of Control and Launcher Areas to assure both an effective defense ring and the proper functioning of the weapon system within the battery, often thought that site selections

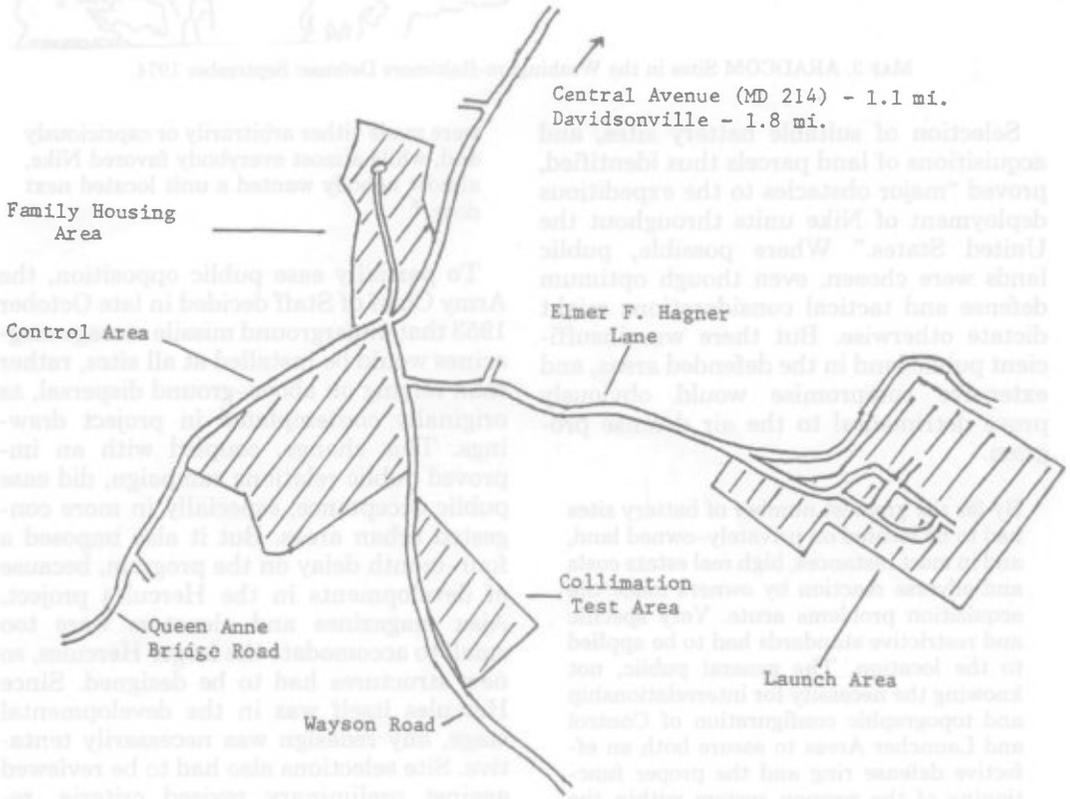
were made either arbitrarily or capriciously and, while almost everybody favored Nike, almost nobody wanted a unit located next door.<sup>26</sup>

To partially ease public opposition, the Army Chief of Staff decided in late October 1953 that underground missile storage magazines would be installed at all sites, rather than relying on above-ground dispersal, as originally contemplated in project drawings. This change, coupled with an improved public relations campaign, did ease public acceptance, especially in more congested urban areas. But it also imposed a four-month delay on the program, because of developments in the Hercules project. Ajax magazines and elevators were too small to accommodate the larger Hercules, so new structures had to be designed. Since Hercules itself was in the developmental stage, any redesign was necessarily tentative. Site selections also had to be reviewed against preliminary revised criteria, released November 20, 1953. Final drawings

were not issued until late January 1954. To speed up construction, the Chief of Staff specified in February 1954 that most batteries would consist of two Ajax and one Hercules magazine. By this time, however, the Ajax magazines themselves were being redesigned. To prevent further delays, 60 launcher sites, including W-25, were designed to consist of two magazines, both "universal" (capable of handling both Ajax and Hercules).<sup>27</sup>

Site W-25 was caught up in these delays. Originally intended for Kent Island, W-25 was switched to Davidsonville in April 1954 "due to technical deficiencies and high real estate costs . . ." Twenty-five acres for a launcher area had been purchased outright in August 1952, as part of the overall Defense site acquisition plan (exact site designations were subject to change as the program matured). Purchase of 16 acres for the battery control area was thornier, and condemnation proceedings were invoked.

The U.S. District Court for Maryland awarded a declaration of taking two years after the launcher area had been purchased. Legal action was also necessary to obtain an additional ten acres some 500 yards down Wayson Road, where the collimation tower (for testing electrical axes of radar antennae) was to be installed. The District Court award came in May 1955.<sup>28</sup> Finally, land for housing the families of married soldiers had to be purchased, since adequate "community support" (private housing for rent) was not available in the Davidsonville area. The housing site had to be as close to the battery as possible to minimize delay in recalling off-duty troops. Eight acres on the north side of Queen Anne Bridge Road, directly across from the eastern end of the control area compound, were chosen. Following a third condemnation proceeding, the land was purchased in July 1958. It was immediately leased to Davidsonville Homes, Inc., for a term of 55



MAP 4. Site W-25.

years, for construction of a 16-unit Armed Forces Housing Project.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, nearly 60 acres were acquired to fully develop the Davidsonville site. Extracting acreage for family housing, Site W-25 closely approximated the average for similar Nike installations.

The ground control guidance equipment is located in a plot of 6 to 8 acres - the Control Area - which includes, basically, three radars and a computer. The first, an acquisition or search radar, detects the approach of distant aircraft. Once a target is selected, a second or tracking radar picks it up and feeds data regarding its location and movement into the computer. The third radar, the missile tracking radar, follows the missile throughout its flight, reporting its movement to the computer. The computer instantaneously and continuously thereafter calculates the closest point of intercept between the missile and target and directs the missile toward the target.

A Launcher Area is located 1 to 4 miles away from the Control Area. It consists of approximately 42 acres, of which 15 are required for the operating facilities and the remainder as a surrounding safety zone. The principal elements contained within the Launcher Area are: underground storage magazines, launchers, missile assembly building, fueling area, control van, generators, administration and housing facilities, and appurtenant utilities. Troop housing is generally located at either the Launcher or Control Area but in some cases may be divided between the two areas.<sup>30</sup>

Bids for construction of Site W-25 were solicited in April 1954, but poor contractor performance and difficulties with elevator installation and repair delayed completion. The April 1955 revised overall deployment plan called for W-25's tactical facilities to be completed for occupancy in May, and troop housing in June, of that year. The tactical facilities were completed on schedule, and the first occupant—Battery B-36th AAA Missile Battalion—moved to its permanent site June 10, 1955.<sup>31</sup>

The standard Ajax battery table of organization and equipment (TOE) published in May 1955 called for 106 officers, warrant officers and enlisted men. This was increased to 113 men in the revised TOE (November 1957), and to 115 in August

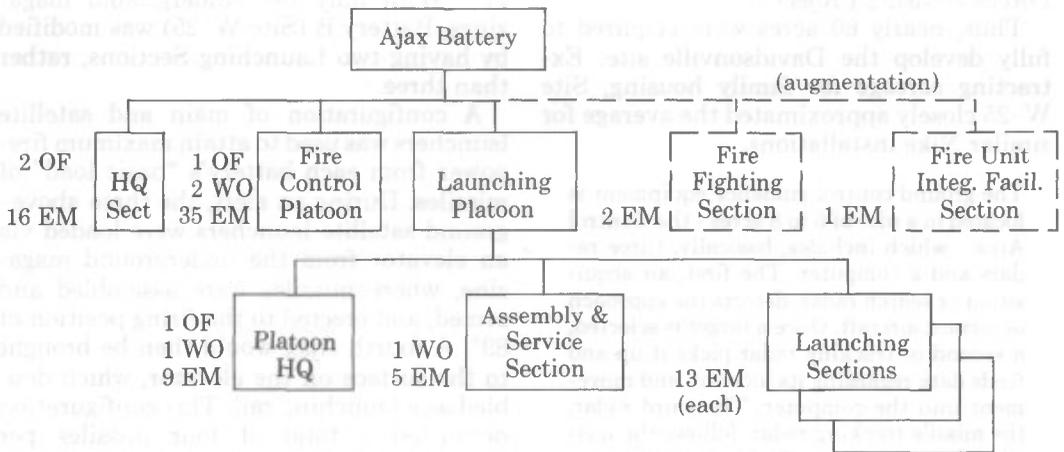
1960, the last major TOE revision (Table 2).<sup>32</sup> With only two underground magazines, Battery B (Site W-25) was modified by having two Launching Sections, rather than three.

A configuration of main and satellite launchers was used to attain maximum firepower from each battery's "basic load" of missiles. During an alert, the three above-ground satellite launchers were loaded via an elevator from the underground magazine, where missiles were assembled and armed, and erected to the firing position of 89°. A fourth Ajax would then be brought to the surface on the elevator, which doubled as a launching rail. This configuration permitted a total of four missiles per Launching Section to be readied for firing. At BATTLE STATIONS alert status, a missile could be launched within 30 seconds of the order.<sup>33</sup>

During a fire mission the missile on the elevator-launcher of one launching section is fired, followed by the missile[s] on the elevator-launcher[s] of the [second and third sections]. Using this sequence each section can reload the elevator-launcher while the other two sections are firing, and consequently maintain the maximum rate of fire. This procedure is followed as long as missiles are available in the underground [magazines]. When these have been exhausted, the three missiles located on satellite launchers at each section are fired as desired by the [battery] commander.<sup>34</sup>

When launched, the missile's four booster rockets accelerated Ajax to supersonic speed, burned out in a few seconds, then separated and fell into a predetermined "booster disposal area." After separation, the Ajax's liquid fuel sustainer rocket ignited, maintaining supersonic speed to target intercept. The target and missile tracking radars constantly fed data to the fire control computer, which in turn transmitted in-flight correction signals to the missile. Antennae on the missile received these signals and directed them to the steering fins which maneuvered the missile into lethal proximity to an intruder aircraft. Evasive action was immediately detected and course correction signals transmitted from the control area. "This

TABLE 2. Nike-Ajax TOE (1960)



action continue[d] until the missile and the target [were] within a fraction of a second of physically colliding. The computer then [sent] a burst command to the missile, detonating the warhead containing thousands of steel fragments which engulf and destroy the target."<sup>35</sup>

Original engineer plans called for a mobile, "primitive encampment" site environment, with prefabricated shelters, gravel-surfaced sidewalks and roads, and scant concern for overall appearance. Public opposition to the eyesore presented by early Nike sites, coupled with considerations of troop morale and equipment maintenance needs, prompted a change to permanent, fixed installations. Thus evolved the "mini-post" appearance associated with Nike sites: paved roads and walkways, conventional buildings painted in colors compatible with those of local communities, and grass, trees and flowers providing screen and shade cover. Unit morale, strained by "long, tiresome hours of troop duty" frequently in isolated areas, was boosted by constructing "good living quarters and mess halls, day rooms, hobby shops, post exchanges, and athletic facilities."<sup>36</sup>

Site W-25 saw several major changes during 1958. Battery B-36th AAA Missile Battalion was reorganized for Hercules June 20. Conversion construction, including installation of an intrusion detection system, was completed July 2, making W-25 the third operational Hercules site in

the Continental United States. On September 1, the 36th came under CARS and was redesignated 1st-562d Artillery. Battery B retained its alphabetical designation. W-25 held an "open house" three days later to celebrate these changes.<sup>37</sup>

Because W-25 already had "universal" magazines, conversion from Ajax to Hercules involved only minor additional construction: site configuration remained substantially the same. Reliance on existing Ajax sites was necessitated by the huge costs of constructing Hercules-specific sites. At best, this compromise was less than satisfactory to ARADCOM officials, because "a weapon with an 85 mile range [was] sited at locations selected . . . for a 25-mile range missile." Worse still, failure to relocate Hercules batteries meant greater vulnerability to nuclear attack, since they were kept needlessly close to primary target areas. A measure of protection was provided by constructing reinforced concrete buildings with filtered ventilation systems to reduce damage, casualties and contamination from blast overpressure and fallout. Fallout protection construction at W-25 was completed in December 1964. Troops were equipped with special clothing for nuclear-biological-chemical warfare protection. Missile Masters were also centrally located in the defense area, and thus highly vulnerable. Further, since Hercules conversion meant there would be fewer firing batteries for the



PHOTOGRAPH 2. Launch Area, Site W-25, December 5, 1956.  
(U.S. Army Photo SC-549340)

AADCP to coordinate, Missile Master carried the added onus of being “overcapable,” especially in relation to maintenance and personnel costs. This was addressed by gradual substitution of smaller fire distribution systems. These were colocated with firing batteries, outside of the immediate target area, increasing survivability. For example, Missile Mentor, capable of controlling up to 16 batteries, replaced Missile Master at Fort Meade in August 1966.<sup>38</sup>

Battery B proved equal to the Hercules challenge. In 1962, under Capt. Myron W. Rose, the battery was the first recipient of the Robert W. Berry Award, given annually to ARADCOM’s outstanding missile site.<sup>39</sup> On December 11, 1962, the same day A-1st-70th took control of the Annapolis-Bay Bridge site, 1st-562 was inactivated. Simultaneously, Battery B-1st-71st Artillery took over W-25. Sometime in 1963 or 1964,

Battery B was attached to 4th-1st Artillery for administrative and operational control, and subsequently redesignated B-4th-1st Artillery. Fourth-1st Artillery thereafter constituted the Regular Army component of the Washington-Baltimore Defense, and was deployed as follows: HHB and Battery C—Edgewood Arsenal, Battery A—Rockville, Battery B—Davidsonville, and Battery D—Tolchester (on Maryland’s Eastern Shore).<sup>40</sup>

On August 30, 1963, Davidsonville was honored by being named the “National Nike Site.” This designation imposed an additional mission of serving as a “showcase” Hercules installation for visiting national and foreign dignitaries and organizations. From 1957 through 1963, this mission had been assigned to Lorton, Virginia (Site W-64). Lorton had been a “dual site,” part Hercules (Regular Army) and part

Ajax (National Guard). When the Ajax missiles were removed, the Regulars pulled out, leaving Virginia's A-1st-280th Artillery (later A-4th-111th Artillery) as sole occupant.<sup>41</sup>

Davidsonville's fame was furthered in May 1964, when Battery B took ARADCOM's Distinguished Firing Battery Award. This honor was bestowed in recognition of the unit's outstanding performance in annual service practice (ASP) firing competition. ASP, also called short notice annual practice, had been initiated in July 1961 to provide a reasonable test of battery proficiency. It will be recalled that Guard gun batteries could, for safety reasons, fire only at the Fort Miles range. Similarly, missile batteries could not practice live firing from their sites. This constraint was overcome by requiring each ARADCOM firing battery to travel to the McGregor Range at Fort Bliss, on only 48-hour notice. Once on-range, the units had to set up equipment, draw, assemble, emplace and fire assigned missiles within one week. All on-site batteries fired at least once annually, and ten percent would have to fire a second time during the fiscal year. Batteries were selected at random, so battery commanders never knew when their turn would come, and last minute "cramming" was not feasible. Units therefore had to maintain a high state of readiness at all times. Competition for annual high score was intense, and ARADCOM expressed pleasure at the overall results. ASP was discontinued only upon announcement of ARADCOM's inactivation.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to ASP, firing units were tested on-site through scheduled and no-notice BLAZING SKIES alerts. These came as often as once a week. Any aircraft entering a defense might be designated an intruder, and firing drill completed short of actual launch. Air Force Strategic Air Command (SAC) and Aerospace Defense Command (ADC) periodically provided "faker" aircraft, simulating intruders for battery training under intense electronic warfare conditions. SAC combat crews benefited by being scored on target run and evasion techniques. Nationwide SKY SHIELD and regional training exercises were also held.

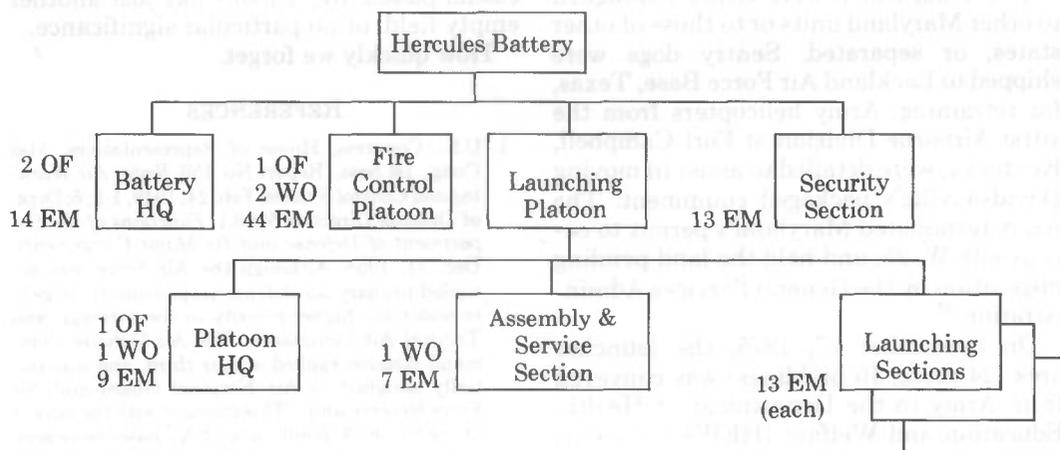
When aircraft were not available, simulators were used to project electronic "targets."<sup>43</sup>

Ajax and Hercules batteries were basically similar in both configuration and organization, as a comparison of Tables 2 and 3 will reveal. With a total of 134 men, the 1967 standard Hercules TOE most notably lacked Fire Fighting and Fire Unit Integration Facility sections. This resulted from increased safety due to absence of volatile liquid fuel, and advanced electronic capability of the Hercules. A Security Section was added for Hercules because of the presence of nuclear warheads, which imposed stricter security standards. Nuclear storage areas were isolated from the rest of the battery and fenced off. Beginning in June 1958, Military Police sentry dog teams were assigned to Hercules batteries, with four handler/dog teams per Security Section. Nike site duty was found, however, to unduly restrict the career advancement of Military Policemen, so handler slots were later converted for missile crewmen.<sup>44</sup>

Hercules batteries were initially allotted a basic load of 12 missiles, raised to 18 in 1964. However, limited on-site storage capacity meant some of the additional missiles had to be stored at Army depots. Further, not all of the added increment carried nuclear warheads. When sites had the required storage, a limited number of Hercules with high-explosive warheads were stocked "as an added measure of defense against a Soviet U-2 type incursion . . ."<sup>45</sup>

Maryland's A-1st-70th Artillery had been reduced from 138 men to 126 while manning Hercules at Site W-26. This was accomplished by eliminating one Launching Section, leaving two in the platoon. Upon displacing B-4th-1st Artillery at Davidsonville in November 1968, the Guard battery's authorized strength was cut further, to 124 men (including 33 Mobilization Designee slots). This reduction was permitted because a high power acquisition radar (HIPAR) had been installed at Site W-25 in October 1962. HIPAR, like the alternate battery acquisition radar (ABAR) which the unit had operated at Annapolis, enhanced battery efficiency by gaining more time for decision-making and

TABLE 3. Nike-Hercules TOE (1967)



weapon selection before engagement. Standard Hercules radars acquired targets at a maximum range of 125 nautical miles and transferred to target tracking radars at 100 nautical miles. Missiles could be launched at 98 nautical miles and intercept at 70 nautical miles. Against an intruder flying at Mach 1 at 11 miles altitude, elapsed time from acquisition to intercept was 305 seconds. By extending acquisition range to 175 nautical miles, HIPAR allowed more than 400 seconds from acquisition to intercept. In a supersonic, computer-paced electronic warfare environment, these added seconds eased the battery commander's task. HIPAR and associated control equipment could also be modified to provide a limited defense against submarine-launched ballistic missiles, increasingly prevalent in the Soviet offensive inventory. To accommodate HIPAR, two of Battery A's augmentation sections (including ABAR), totaling 11 men, were eliminated and a 9-man HIPAR Section added.<sup>46</sup>

A small Regular Army contingent remained at Davidsonville after A-1st-70th Artillery took over. This was the nuclear custodial team, which controlled release of nuclear warheads for fitting to Hercules. Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, National Guard air defense units were denied custody of nuclear weapons prior to federalization. Nuclear warheads were delivered to Hercules sites either by helicopter or on

tractor-trailers under heavy Military Police escort. While Guardsmen had periodically rebuilt conventional high-explosive warheads, the nuclear variety had to be shipped to the Army ordnance depot at Redstone Arsenal, Alabama, for maintenance. Actual use of nuclear warheads in a combat situation was controlled by AADCP orders, using classified "Weapon Control Case" terminology.<sup>47</sup>

Battery A came to Davidsonville with freshly won honors. In 1968, Captain Thompson's unit garnered three proficiency awards: 35th Artillery Brigade Certificate of Operational Readiness, 1st-70th Artillery's Carl W. Schmidt Honor Battery Trophy, and the battalion's Col. Norman A. P. Miller Operational Readiness Trophy. Battery A's guidon was decorated with an ARADCOM "E" streamer for combat proficiency excellence in 1971. That same year, the unit attained an outstanding score during a command maintenance management inspection. Two years later, under Capt. Donald S. Bowes, Battery A won a second "E" streamer, and scored 98.3 percent in ASP competition.<sup>48</sup>

Davidsonville's solid reputation was thus thoroughly intact when word came to initiate stand-down procedures. Missile components and fire control equipment were shipped to various Army depots to be reconditioned and issued to United States and allied forces still operational with Her-

cules. Regulars received new duty station orders. Guardsmen were either reassigned to other Maryland units or to those of other states, or separated. Sentry dogs were shipped to Lackland Air Force Base, Texas, for retraining. Army helicopters from the 101st Airborne Division at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, were detailed to assist in moving Davidsonville's packaged equipment. The Army terminated Maryland's permit to occupy site W-25, and held the land pending disposition by the General Services Administration.<sup>49</sup>

On September 17, 1975, the launcher area (24 acres, 15 buildings) was conveyed from Army to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) for use as an educational facility. HEW's regional director signed a quitclaim deed January 19, and Anne Arundel County's acting executive accepted the property February 23. The property was formally acquired March 4, 1976, as a county police academy. The control area (16 acres, 13 buildings) was conveyed to the Department of Interior April 15, 1976, for use as a recreational area. Interior's regional director signed a quitclaim deed June 24, and the property was accepted by the county executive six days later, with formal acquisition coming July 7. An additional 33 acres of easements were transferred to GSA and placed in inactive inventory October 27, 1976. GSA closed its books on the former Nike site November 16, 1977.<sup>50</sup>

The family housing area across Queen Anne Bridge Road had been surplus to ARADCOM needs since Guardsmen took over Site W-25. Air Force personnel assigned to the transmitter station just off Route 424 occupied the units after Army families vacated. The Army later planned to dispose of this property, which would have caused eviction of the Air Force families. But the Air Force decided to acquire and renovate the housing units in December 1973, and evictions were averted. Formal transfer came October 30, 1974. The family housing area is the only portion of the original Nike site still in use by a military service.<sup>51</sup>

As of this writing, the old collimation test site is still listed as a property of the "Nike Base, U.S. Army" in county land

records, and is still undeveloped.<sup>52</sup> To the casual passer-by, it looks like just another empty field, of no particular significance.

How quickly we forget.

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4. Ted G. Nicholas, *U.S. Missile Data Book, 1981*, 5th ed., Data Search Associates, Inc. (Fountain Valley, CA, 1980), 3-2, 3-4, (cited by permission); U.S. Army Ordnance School, *Handbook of Ordnance Materiel, Special Text 9-159* (Aberdeen Proving Ground, MD, 1962), 102 (cited hereafter as *Handbook of Ordnance Materiel*); FM 44-1, 6; *Argus* 5:7 (July 1962), 8 and 17:6 (June 1974), 6, 11-2; Lt. Col. C. P. Rountree, "Missiles Meet Their Master," *Army Information Digest* 16:3 (Mar. 1954), 5.
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7. Nicholas, 3-2, 3-4; FM 44-1, 6; Michael J. H. Taylor, *Missiles of the World* (New York, 1980), 74; *Handbook of Ordnance Materiel*, 117, 119; "History . . . 35th Arty Bde," *Argus* 5:7 (July 1962), 8 and 17:6 (June 1974), 6, 12.
  8. *Argus* 16:7 (July 1973), 13, 29, 17:2 (Feb. 1974), 2-3, 17:5 (May 1974), 9, and 17:6 (June 1974), 7, 9-10, 12, 22-3; "Scrapping Missiles to Fit the Times," *U.S. News and World Report* 76:42 (Mar. 4, 1974), 42; *Annual Report of the Chief, Notional Guard Bureau, Fiscal Year 1974* (Washington, D.C., 1974), 143. In March 1970, the 31st ADA Brigade had been assigned a Strategic Army Forces mission in addition to its CONUS air defense role. This meant the brigade, which was equipped mainly with Hawk missiles, was designated for deployment to provide air defense for Army intervention forces, anywhere in the world. The continued cutback in Hercules units is evident from annual totals: 1963 - 134, 1966 - 112, 1968 - 87, 1969 - 82, 1970 - 76, 1971 - 52. *Argus* 17:6 (June 1974), 12. See also Col. Bruce Jacobs, "A Farewell Salute," *National Guardsman* 28:10 (Nov. 1974), 2-8, charts 1 and 2.
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  10. *Argus* 17:2 (Feb. 1974), 2.
  11. "History . . . 35th Arty Bde;" "35th AAA Brigade 14th Anniversary, 20 Nov 1942-1956," unit publication (Ft. Meade, MD, 1956); summary notes, 36th AAA Missile Bn, "A. A. P.," U.S. Army Center of Military History (USACMH), Washington, D.C., Apr. 27, 1964; *Argus* 16:7 (July 1973), 13, 29 and 17:6 (June, 1974), 7, 22, 23.
  12. Lineage and Honors, 70th Artillery, USACMH, Sep. 22, 1966 (cited hereafter as Lineage Statement); Baltimore *Evening Sun*, Nov. 9, 1955, Nov. 17, 1955, Jan. 13, 1957, and Oct. 18, 1957; U.S. Army, Office of the Adjutant General, *Directory and Station List of the United States Army*, Dec. 31, 1953, 70-9, Dec. 31, 1954, 70-80, Feb. 28, 1955, 70-80, and Dec. 15, 1956, 64-77 (cited hereafter as *Station List*); Letter from Chief, Heraldic Services Div., Quartermaster Activities, to Chief, National Guard Bureau (NGB), Depts. of the Army and the Air Force, "Coat of Arms and Distinctive Insignia for the 683d Antiaircraft Artillery Battalion, Maryland National Guard," Mar. 7, 1958. The 683d's distinctive insignia consisted of the shield and motto from the coat of arms, described thus: "The scarlet and gold [colors] are used for Artillery. The five-pointed [black] figure represents the 'Star Fort,' Fort McHenry, early defense of the city of Baltimore against hostile attack. The black and gold lower part of the shield is taken from the arms of Calvert, Lord Baltimore. The design refers to the battalion's place of activation and home station of Baltimore, Maryland." The motto, "O'er the Rampart We Watch," alludes to the National anthem inspired by the British bombardment of Ft. McHenry, Sep. 14, 1814.
  13. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, as cited above; Baltimore *Sun*, Nov. 11, 1955; *Army Information Digest* 9:11 (Nov. 1954), 62-3; John Quick, *Dictionary of Weapons and Military Terms* (New York, 1973), 467.
  14. Baltimore *Evening Sun*, Oct. 18, 1957; "Unit History of Battery D, 54th AAA Missile Battalion, Fork, Maryland," N.P., N.D., copy on file at USACMH; *Argus* 5:7 (July 1962), 8-9, 16:12 (Dec. 1973), 5-6, and 17:6 (June 1974), 6.
  15. Baltimore *Sun*, July 31, 1958; Letter from Chief, Army Div., NGB to Adjutant General of Maryland (AG MD), "Troop Allotment, Conversion, Redesignation, Reorganization and Withdrawal of Federal Recognition, Army National Guard Units," Jan. 22, 1958. DC Guard AAA units are discussed in letter from Chief, Army Div., NGB to Com-

- manding General (CG), DC NG, "Troop Allotment, Redesignation and Reorganization, Army National Guard Units," Feb. 13, 1958. See also Washington *Sunday Star Magazine*, May 12, 1957. Virginia's 125th AAA Bn (90mm Gun) was redesignated a Nike battalion in Feb. 1958, then as 1st Missile Bn (Nike-Ajax), 280th Arty in May 1959. Further consolidations reduced the battalion to a single battery within 4th-111th Artillery by May 1964. This Battery A had been located at Lorton, VA, since 1957, and was the only VA Guard unit involved in the Washington-Baltimore Defense after 1969. Batteries B and C, 4th-111th were active in the Hampton Roads Defense and continued after the 1971 merger which created the Washington-Baltimore-Norfolk Defense. *Argus* 12:3 (Mar. 1969), 26 and 14:6 (July 1971), 6; Letters from Chief, Army Div., NGB to AG VA: "Troop Allotment, Redesignation and Reorganization, Army National Guard Units," Feb. 14, 1958; NGB Reorganization Authority (RA) No. 66-59, May 15, 1959; NGB RA No. 9-63, Jan. 15, 1963; "125th AAA Bn (1951-Present)," work sheet, USACMH, N. D. Both the DC and VA Guard units had been equipped with 90-mm. and 120-mm. guns prior to conversion to Ajax.
16. Letters from Chief, Army Div., NGB to AG MD: "Change of Station, Army National Guard Unit," Feb. 6, 1958, Mar. 25, 1958, and Jan. 7, 1959; NGB RA No. 14-59, Feb. 12, 1959, with Change 1 - Feb. 25, 1959, Change 3 - Apr. 14, 1959, Change 4 - May 27, 1959, and Change 5 - Feb. 13, 1961; NGB RA No. 69-59, June 3, 1959; Lineage Statement, 70th Arty; MD AG, *Unit and Station List - Maryland Army and Air National Guard, July 1, 1959* (Baltimore); Lt. Col. John A. Thompson, MDARNG, Sep. 20, 1982, and April 1983. CARS, approved by the Secretary of the Army Jan. 24, 1957, was developed "to maintain the continuity of the Army's distinguished combat units" in the face of past and planned organizational instability. Based on the British regimental system, CARS overcame these problems and established a basis for meeting future reorganization needs. "Combat arms" - infantry, armor, artillery and cavalry - in the Regular Army, Army Reserve and Army National Guard components, were effected by the plan, which prompted a series of unit consolidations and redesignations, with less historic units being inactivated. Under CARS, all elements trace their lineage back to an organic company of a "parent regiment." "Parents" are shared by Regular and Reserve units, while National Guard units (except for Special Forces) have their own "parents" based on a geographical association. A CARS "parent" is "institutional," not tactical: no regimental headquarters exists, and battalions "assigned" to the regiment for lineage and honors purposes exist separately or subordinate to other tactical/administrative units such as brigades or groups. John K. Mahon and Romana Danysh, *Infantry, Part I: Regular Army*, Army Lineage Series (Washington, D.C., 1972), 89, 96-100; Mary Lee Stubbs and Stanley Russell Connor, *Armor-Cavalry, Part I: Regular Army and Army Reserve*, Army Lineage Series (Washington, D.C., 1969), 80-1; Monte Bourjaily, Jr., "The Question of CARS," *Army* 11:12 (July 1961), 23. The CARS "parents" for air defense artillery were assigned lineages and honors of anti-aircraft units of the former Coast Artillery Corps, which had been merged with Field Artillery by the Army Organization Act of 1950 (PL 581-81) to form a single Artillery branch. Lt. Col. C. Emery Baya, "Army Organization Act of 1950," *Army Information Digest* 5:8 (Aug. 1950), 28, 35, 36-7. For reorganization of DC Guard missile battalions, see NGB RA No. 13-59, Feb. 12, 1959. Elements of the two battalions and HHB-260th AAA Group were converted into Engineer and Military Police units.
  17. *Baltimore Sun*, Sep. 21, 1959; *Argus* 11:11 (Nov. 1968), 19.
  18. NGB RA No. 126-59, Aug. 26, 1959; NGB RA No. 14-59, Change 5, Feb. 13, 1961; NGB RA No. 267-61, Nov. 13, 1961; Lineage Statement, 70th Arty.
  19. "Index-Completed Military Contracts as of 29 February 1972," Construction Div., Baltimore Dist., Corps of Engineers, 52 (cited hereafter as "Completed Military Contracts;" *Annual Report of the Chief, National Guard Bureau, Fiscal Year 1963* (Washington, D.C., 1963), 40; *Baltimore Sun*, Mar. 10, 1972; *Station List*, Dec. 17, 1962, 80; *Argus* 5:7 (July 1962), 9, 6:1 (Jan. 1963), 1, 2, 11:12 (Dec. 1968), 23, 15:1 (Jan. 1972), 6, 16:12 (Dec. 1973), 6, and 17:6 (June 1974), 6-7, 22. Other states initially participating in the Hercules on-site program were California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin. Six sites in Hawaii were also manned by Guard units, but were not under ARADCOM.
  20. Lineage Statement, 70th Arty; "Status, 70th Arty, 1 March 1963," working notes, R. L. Thompson, USACMH, Apr. 18, 1966; NGB RA No. 41-63, Feb. 27, 1963; NGB RA No. 25-65, Apr. 19, 1965; NGB RA No. 170-65, Dec. 20, 1965. At the time of this reorganization, batteries of the 2d and 3d Battalions were redesignated part of 1st Battalion to preserve their lineage in an active status: B-1st was formerly A-2d; C-1st, formerly B-3d; and D-1st, formerly D-2d. "Flow Chart for Elements of 70th Air Defense Artillery," work sheet, USACMH, N. D. [1974?].
  21. *Annapolis Evening Capital*, Nov. 2, 1968; NGB RA No. 138-68, Sep. 23, 1968; *Argus* 11:9 (Sep. 1968), 3, 12:1 (Jan. 1969), 2, and 17:6 (June 1974), 7, 22. The Annapolis site was closed due to construction of the second span of the Bay Bridge, which was masking the acquisition radar, as verified by Air Force test flights (Lt. Col. Thompson, Sept. 20, 1982).
  22. See Note 16 regarding CARS and Artillery branch. On Dec. 1, 1968, air defense units were separated from Artillery to form a new "Air Defense Artillery" branch; the remaining units were assigned to "Field Artillery" branch. Designation of Regular Army units was changed accordingly Sep. 1, 1971. Air Defense Artillery retained the then-

- current Artillery branch insignia: crossed cannon surmounted by a missile. Field Artillery reverted to the simple cross cannon design. Both branches share the color scarlet, long associated with artillery. *Argus* 11:12 (Dec. 1968), 18, 12:1 (Jan. 1969), 15, 12:3 (Mar. 1969), 18, 14:8 (Sep.-Oct. 1971), 15, 18, 20, 22 and 17:6 (June 1974), 9; Lineage Statement, 70th ADA, USACMH, Sep. 10, 1973; Letter from Director, U.S. Army Institute of Heraldry to Commanding Officer, 70th ADA, "Coat of Arms and Distinctive Insignia for the 70th Air Defense Artillery, Allotted to the Maryland Army National Guard," July 1, 1972; "Flow Chart for Elements of the 70th Air Defense Artillery," work sheet, USACMH, N. D. [1974?].
23. *Argus* 14:6 (July 1971), 6 and 16:7 (July 1973), 13; *Annual Report of the Chief, National Guard Bureau, Fiscal Year 1974*, 143, 144; U.S. Army Command Information Unit, *Spotlight*, Issue No. 67, Washington, D.C., Mar. 15, 1974.
  24. NGB RA Nos. 162-74 and 172-74, Nov. 7, 1974; NGB, Project Hercules Staff, "Missile Age Minutemen: A Salute Honoring the Army National Guard Air Defense Units, 1954-1974, Indiantown Gap Military Reservation, Annsville, Pennsylvania, 14 September 1974," (Washington, D.C., 1974); *Free State Guardian* 4:3 (Fall 1974), 1; Jacobs. Of the 17 state Guards represented at the Indiantown Gap ceremony, one (Hawaii) had not been part of ARADCOM and six (Connecticut, Missouri, Ohio, Rhode Island, Texas, Wisconsin) had been deleted from ARADCOM's force structure in earlier years. *Argus* 16:12 (Dec. 1973), 6-7. The DC Guard was not represented.
 

When HHB-691st Artillery Group (AD) ceased to exist in 1963, the State Air Defense Officer became a special staff officer to the Adjutant General. In this capacity, the SADO was the senior AD advisor, controlled allocation of funds to state AD battalions and performed liaison with all ARADCOM echelons (Lt. Col. Thompson, April 1983).
  25. Comment (CMT) 1, Disposition Form (DF), Asst. Chief of Staff, (ACS), G-4, to Chief of Engineers (COE), "Construction Order No. 29-Sam [sic] On-Site Construction," Apr. 1, 1953; Enclosure to CMT 1, DF, ACS, G-3, to ACS, G-1, *et al.*, "Nike Deployment and Site Availability Plan," Apr. 21, 1954. Both documents are in file "Nike Progress Reports," Historical Div., OCE (hereafter HD-OCE).
  26. Col. Steven Malevich, "Nike Deployment," *Military Engineer* 47:320 (Nov.-Dec. 1955), 419; Mickelsen, 11.
  27. Malevich, 418, 419, 420; Mickelsen, 11; K. Dodd, draft manuscript, 228-40, 244-6, in file "Nike Manuscript," HD-OCE; Undated [1960?], untitled list of battery sites in Washington-Baltimore Defense, in file "Lists and Info Nike Sites," HD-OCE.
  28. CMT 2, DF, COE to ACS, G-4, "Control Area, Site W-25", Mar. 30, 1954; Letter, Asst. for Army Construction, Military Construction, OCE to North Atlantic Div. Engineer, "Nike Site W-25," Apr. 12, 1954. Both documents are in file "Nike Progress Reports," HD-OCE; "Real Estate Planning Report - Proposed Surface to Air Missiles Sites, Washington-Baltimore Defense Area," 4-5, N. D. [1953?], in file "Planning - Nike," HD-OCE. For COE position on acquiring land by condemnation without prior negotiation with the owner if required, see Summary Sheet, ACS, G-4, to Chief of Staff and Under Secretary of the Army, "Plan to Expedite the Acquisition of Surface-to-Air Missile (NIKE) Sites," Mar. 20, 1953, in file "Planning - Nike," HD-OCE; Land Records of Anne Arundel County, MD: J. H. H. 852/436, Aug. 6, 1952; J. H. H. 871/497, Aug. 6, 1954; and G. T. C. 948/155, May 16, 1955.
  29. Land Records of Anne Arundel County, MD: G. T. C. 1220/579, July 21, 1958; G. T. C. 1222/558, July 21, 1958; *Army Times*, May 23, 1959.
  30. Malevich, 417; Mickelsen, 7. Battery control and launching area separation distance requirements for Nike-Hercules are given in Dept. of the Army Field Manual 44-82, *Procedures and Drills for Nike Hercules Systems*, Washington, D.C., Aug. 30, 1965, 29, 33. Equipment design required a minimum distance of 1,000 yards and a maximum of 6,000 yards between the target-tracking radar and a missile to be launched. This source will be cited hereafter as FM 44-82. Change 1, issued Sep. 16, 1966, retitled the manual *Procedures and Drill for Nike Hercules Missile Battery*. Reference to the Change will be cited as FM 44-82 (Change 1).
  31. DF, COE to Chief, Legislative Liaison, "Report of NIKE Sites Advertised," Apr. 12, 1954, in file "Nike Progress Reports," HD-OCE; Enclosure to DF, Dep. Chief of Staff (DCS), Logistics to COE, "Proposed NIKE Deployment and Site Availability Plan," Apr. 6, 1955, in file "Planning - Nike," HD-OCE; "Completed Military Contracts," 49; Unit History Card, 36th AAA Missile Bn, on file with Organization History Br., USACMH.
  32. Dept. of the Army, Table of Organization and Equipment [cited hereafter as TOE] No. 44-447R, Antiaircraft Artillery Missile Battery, Nike, Continental, Washington, D.C., May 13, 1955; TOE No. 44-447D, Nov. 13, 1957; and TOE No. 44-447E, Aug. 22, 1960.
  33. Malevich, 417, 419; FM 44-82, 79; *Handbook of Ordnance Materiel*, 103, 121.
  34. Maj. Gen. Earl G. Wheeler, "Missiles on the Firing Line," *Army Information Digest* 11:12 (Dec. 1956), 39.
  35. Mickelsen, 6-7; Wheeler, 38; Rountree, 8. Hercules booster disposal areas were centered 1.2 miles from the launching area. FM 44-82, 33. Detailed procedures for Hercules launch, which were almost identical to Ajax, are found in FM 44-82, 105-34.
  36. Malevich, 419, 420; Mickelsen, 9. Ironically, ARADCOM later requested that several CONUS Hercules batteries be made mobile "to prevent targetting and [facilitate] post-attack redeployment . . . to reconstitute the defense or create a new defense." *Command Analysis . . . June 1963*, 17.
  37. Unit History Cards, 36th AAA Missile Bn, and 1st-562d Arty, USACMH; *Station List*, Apr. 15,

- 1962, 78; "Completed Military Contracts," 51; Undated [1962?] list, "Appendix D, Table I, (C) Converted Defense Sites (U)," in file "Lists and Info - Nike Sites," HD-OCE; U.S. Army Photographs C-015064 through C-015067. Batteries C-03 (Chicago) and NY-49 (New York) became operational with Hercules two days and one day prior to W-25, respectively.
38. "History . . . 35th Bde;" *Command Analysis . . . June 1963*, 8-9, 11-2, 15-6; *Command Analysis . . . May 1965*, 57, 59; CMT 2, DF, COE to DCS, Operations, "Problems Involved in Introducing Atomic Warheads in NIKE-HERCULES (S)," Feb. 11, 1957, in file "Planning - Nike," HD-OCE; Briefing Paper, "Storage and Construction Considerations," in file "Nike Progress Reports," HD-OCE; "Completed Military Contracts," 53.
  39. *Argus* 5:7 (July 1962), 9, 15:7 (July 1972), 20, and 17:6 (June 1974), 6, 11-2.
  40. *Argus* 17:6 (June 1974), 13. The Unit Record Card and lineage file on 1st-71st Arty is incomplete regarding the exact fate of the battalion and its organic batteries. The sequence in the text is a reconstruction based on "Unit Historical Summary, 4th Bn, 1st Arty," N. P., N. D. [1966?] on file at USACMH (cited hereafter as "Unit Historical Summary . . . 4th Bn"). USACMH officials indicate, however, that such battery-level redesignation would be unusual under CARS.
  41. *Argus* 6:10 (Oct. 1963), 1-2, and 8:7 (July 1965), 5.
  42. "Unit Historical Summary . . . 4th Bn;" *Argus* 5:7 (July 1962), 9 and 17:2 (Feb. 1974), 2; *Command Analysis . . . June 1963*, 8; Rountree, 11.
  43. *Command Analysis . . . June 1963*, 7-8; FM 44-82 (Change 1), 103-4; Lt. Col Thompson, Sep. 20, 1982; *Argus* 16:8 (Aug. 1973), 4 and 17:3 (Mar 1974), 7. Electronic warfare aspects of Nike operations are discussed in FM 44-82, 159-65.
  44. TOE No. 44-547 (Nike-Hercules ADA Battery, CONUS), Aug. 31, 1967; *Argus* 5:7 (July 1962), 8; *Command Analysis . . . June 1963*, 13-4. Detailed descriptions of Hercules battery equipment and operations are in FM 44-82, 5-10, 11-13. Area lighting and a nuclear warhead building were installed at W-25 during 1959, along with other site and facility improvements. "Completed Military Contracts," 51-2. Nuclear warheads were not stored above ground, but were mated to missiles in the warhead building and the complete round immediately stored in an underground magazine (Lt. Col. Thompson, April 1983).
  45. *Command Analysis . . . June 1963*, 8. Undated [1960?], untitled list of battery sites in Washington-Baltimore Defense, in file "Lists and Info—Nike Sites," HD-OCE, gives W-25 storage capacity as 12 Hercules missiles.
  46. "Completed Military Contracts," 52; *Command Analysis . . . June 1963*, 9-10, FM 44-1, 6-7; NGB RA No. 25-65, Apr. 19, 1965; NGB RA No. 6-68, Jan. 17, 1968; NGB RA No. 138-68, Sep. 23, 1968; *Argus* 16:12 (Dec. 1973), 6 and 17:6 (June 1974), 13. Mobilization Designees assigned to Davidsonville were never actually called up (Lt. Col Thompson, Sep. 20, 1982). Mobilization Designees were the only Army Reserve contribution to the ARADCOM on-site program. See U.S. Army Command Information Unit, *Army News Features*, Washington, D.C., Oct. 15, 1973. For discussion of HIPAR and ABAR, see FM 44-82, 6.
  47. *Command Analysis . . . May 1965*, 46, 69; FM 44-82, 81; Lt. Col. Thompson, Sept. 20, 1982.
  48. *Argus* 12:1 (Jan. 1969), 2, 14:5 (June 1971), 5, 14:8 (Sep.-Oct. 1971), 27, 16:8 (Aug. 1973), 25, 16:11 (Nov. 1973), 9, and 17:1 (Jan. 1974), 1.
  49. *Argus* 17:4 (Apr. 1974), 22, 17:5 (May 1974), 2, and 17:7 (July 1974), 3.
  50. Letter, G. R. Boggs, Chief, Real Estate Div., Baltimore Dist., COE, to author, Dec. 27, 1982; Telephone conversation with Joseph Bisho, GSA Federal Property Resources Div., Washington, D.C., Sep. 10, 1982; Land Records of Anne Arundel Co., MD: Liber 2832/Folio 778 and Liber 2868/Folio 464.
  51. Annapolis *Evening Capital*, Dec. 5, 1973; Boggs to author, Dec. 27, 1982.
  52. Real Estate Data, Inc., *Real Estate Atlas of Anne Arundel County, Maryland: Geographical Ownership Volume: City of Annapolis - County Non-Subdivisions: Alphabetical Index*, 12th ed., (Miami, FL, 1981), geog. pages 225-6.

# Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History

RICHARD R. DUNCAN, Compiler

**T**HREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OF Maryland history has provided historians and students with a fertile field of study. The list of published histories and monographs on the Free State is a long one, but countless studies in the form of doctoral dissertations and master's theses also exist in university archives. Dissertations, of course, are the more important, and their titles are readily available to students and scholars by using *Dissertation Abstracts*, Warren F. Kuehl's *Dissertations in History*, and other bibliographies. Theses, however, without the advantage of such indexes and compilations, except for the limited listing provided by *Masters Abstracts: A Catalog of Selected Masters Theses on Microfilm* (Xerox University Microfilms), pose a more difficult problem for researchers and often remain unknown and unused.

In the late 1960s there was a partial attempt made to rectify this bibliographic gap for Maryland researchers. The *Maryland Historical Magazine* in its 1968 Winter issue published the first of three installments of a limited survey of regional universities. With the encouragement of Harold Manakee, then Director of the Maryland Historical Society, an expanded edition was published in pamphlet form, *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History*, in 1970.<sup>1</sup> More recently Richard J. Cox in his very fine annual bibliography, "A Bibliography of Articles, Books, and Dissertations on Maryland History," has attempted to keep abreast of some of this literature. Yet by the very nature of master's theses only an actual

survey of university libraries provides that information.

Therefore, in an attempt to update the 1970 bibliography with a supplement, the following list was recently compiled. The original survey which encompassed some sixty-one universities was expanded to 117.<sup>2</sup> Once again the search for titles was interdisciplinary and not confined to work done merely in History departments but included theses done in Economics, Education, English, Political Science, and other related departments as well. In rechecking the holdings of several universities a number of earlier items, which escaped the compiler's eye, were discovered and are now included in this supplement. The compilation is organized according to periods and topics, and even though some cross-referencing is used, a researcher might well have to consult several sections.

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Dr. Duncan, editor of the *Magazine* from 1967-1974, teaches in the Department of History of Georgetown University.

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*Michigan*—Detroit University, Eastern Michigan University, Michigan State University, University of Michigan, Wayne State University, Western Michigan University; *Missouri*—St. Louis University, University of Missouri, and Washington University; *New Jersey*—Drew University, Princeton University, Rutgers, the State University, and Seton Hall University; *New York*—Columbia University, Cornell University, Fordham University, New York University, Rochester University, Saint John's University, Syracuse University, and Union Theological Seminary; *North Carolina*—Appalachian State University, Duke University, East Carolina University, North Carolina Central University, North Carolina State University, University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina—Greensboro, Wake Forest University, and Western North Carolina University; *Ohio*—Bowling Green State University, Case—Western Reserve University, Cleveland State University, Dayton University, Kent State University, Miami University, Ohio State University, Ohio University, Wright State University, University of Akron, Xavier University, Youngstown State University; *Pennsylvania*—Bryn Mawr College, California State University, Carnegie—Mellon University, Duquesne University, Lehigh University, Pennsylvania State University, Shippensburg State College, Temple University, University of Pennsylvania,

University of Pittsburgh, University of Scranton; *Rhode Island*: Brown University; *South Carolina*—Clemson University, University of South Carolina; *Tennessee*—East Tennessee University, Fisk University, University of Tennessee, Vanderbilt University; *Virginia*—College of William & Mary, George Mason University, James Madison University, Longwood College, Old Dominion University, Radford University, Union Theological Seminary, University of Richmond, University of Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Virginia State University; *West Virginia*—Marshall University, West Virginia University; *Wisconsin*—Marquette University, and University of Wisconsin—Madison.

A number of the above schools produced no titles but are included to indicate scope of survey. The search for titles is increasingly fraught with problems. A number of university libraries maintain no separate catalog of dissertations and theses but merely file them in the general catalog. A few schools have just begun to construct a file for them. One major university, on the other hand, recently consigned all of its theses to the fire. Experience also indicates that despite care titles were undoubtedly and regrettably overlooked in the search for titles.

3. The two Shippensburg State College titles are research papers for the M.Ed., undertaken without a thesis committee, but are included for their local interest.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Placenames of Maryland, Their Origin and Meaning.* By Hamill Kenny, Ph.D. (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1984. Pp xii, 352. Comprehensive Bibliography, index. \$20.00)

*Maryland A to Z: A Topographical Dictionary.* By Marion J. Kaminkow. (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Company, 1985. Pp. xiv, 402. Illustrations, index. \$17.50.)

At first glance these two books appear to address the same subject, but they are very different both in purpose and treatment as well as audience addressed and—thus—complement one another.

Kenny's *The Placenames of Maryland, Their Origin and Meanings* is specific and scholarly. The authority on Maryland placenames for more than a generation, Professor Kenny has written an exclusively historical work aimed at a scholarly audience—there are no illustrations or maps and nearly all entries are pre-twentieth-century. Moreover, the entries are for Maryland cities, towns, mountains and waterways only. But Kenny's greatest contributions are the English and Indian origin and meaning of these placenames. Indeed, because his previous work on *Indian Place Names* has long been out of print, those placenames have been repeated more concisely here. Selection and representation are the keys to each entry, and Kenny's "Introduction" should be read by everyone interested in the origin of Maryland placenames. Three principles governed Kenny's decision to aim for wide representation instead of broader, more inclusive coverage: 1) to include all of our state's genuine Indian names; 2) to include a large number of town and village names; 3) to include a more moderate number of geographical names that are significant because of historical incident or natural wonder. As a result, Kenny's work reveals the traditions of naming Maryland places which enable readers familiar with other states to see and better appreciate Maryland's distinctive character as well as certain aspects of its historical development. Teachers of Maryland history in particular should find Kenny's "Introduction" useful, and it is fitting that the Maryland Historical Society chose to publish this volume as part of their commemoration of our state's 350th year.

Kaminkow's *Maryland A to Z* is aptly subtitled *A Topographical Dictionary* for it is far more than a gazeteer. Its range is broad: In addition to Maryland towns, airports, collective areas, counties, dams, ghost towns, hills, lakes, mountains and parks, railroads and rivers are included. Virtually anything that has a name in Maryland may be found in the volume. Kaminkow has relied mainly on printed sources and oral history, and the information is as good as those sources allow. But the author has also mined one of the richest sources in Maryland libraries: the vertical file. The result is far greater than merely historical and geographical descriptions; information on boundaries, museum hours, origins of names, population data, and proximity to county seats are included as well. County maps, photos and other illustrations make this a welcome companion to *Maryland: A New Guide to the Old Line State* and *The Placenames of Maryland, Their Origin and Meaning*. Well indexed and containing one of the nicest selected bibliographies of Maryland local history, it is perfect as a general guide for the reader.

GARY BROWNE

*University of Maryland Baltimore County*

*The Poetic Writings of Thomas Cradock, 1718–1770.* Edited with an Introduction by David Curtis Skaggs (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983. Index, bibliography, illustration, textual notations. 311 pp. \$24.50.)

For almost fifteen years David Curtis Skaggs, Professor of History at Bowling Green State University in Ohio, has been uncovering and reporting on the unpublished treasures of colonial Maryland literature. In the process he has successfully argued against the notion that the Chesapeake Bay was a cultural wasteland in the eighteenth century. Even more important, Skaggs' major contribution to an understanding of colonial life is his emphasis on the differences between the Southern intellectual tradition and those of the other continental colonies. He continues to explore that theme in this book.

Skaggs' earliest effort to demonstrate the quality of Maryland intellectual life was in organizing and analyzing the sermons and verses of the English-born Reverend Thomas Cradock of St. Thomas's parish in Baltimore County from 1745 to 1770 (*William and Mary Quarterly*,

1973). The sermons have yet to be published, but in this volume he has made available the extant Cradock verses, as well as an extensive commentary on the historical, aesthetic, ethical, and intellectual significance of Cradock's literary efforts.

This edition of Cradock's writings is a valuable work. It makes available another neglected source of Chesapeake cultural life. Overshadowed as it has been by the volume of New England printed works, the literary output of the colonial Chesapeake has not received sufficient attention. Although few of the Chesapeake writings were published in their time, they did have a contemporary audience and circulated in manuscript form among those of "quality and breeding." The publication of Cradock's verses in printed form now, more than two hundred years after his death, thus adds another important volume to the library of Southern colonial intellectual endeavors.

The editor arranges Cradock's poetry into four groups: devotional (in a variety of styles), satirical (Maryland Eclogues in imitation of Virgil's Eclogues), trifles (translations of Latin and Greek verse), and the drama. The latter section includes only one untitled and incomplete play—a five-act, blank-verse tragedy on the trial and execution of Socrates. Skaggs, who has definitively identified the playwright as Cradock, entitled the drama "The Death of Socrates." It was most likely the first serious drama written in the colony. It circulated and was read by Cradock's friends, but not published in his day. The themes of the tragedy, typically eighteenth century and intended to teach by example, criticized the immorality and decadence of society while elevating the virtues of intellectual honesty and reason embodied in the character of Socrates.

All of Cradock's poetry, even the humorous, carried an ethical message—Skaggs calls him "The Christian Muse." It was not, however, the same message of the Puritan divine. The parson deplored the spread of deism and disbelief, but preached the rational religion of sophisticated London. He used the language and style of the Augustan satirists—neoclassical, humorous, and moralistic, making use of comic relief from the often serious social criticism. Thus Skaggs demonstrates that Cradock fits into R. B. Davis' construct of the unique southern intellectual tradition: religious (but not Puritan), hedonistic, agrarian, classical, and British.

Cradock's attempt to accommodate English models to American themes has left behind a valuable social and historical commentary on Chesapeake life in the tradition of Ebenezer Cook's *Sotweed Factor*, and William Byrd's *His-*

*tory of the Dividing Line*. Skaggs has traced many of Cradock's references to local events, people, places, and custom, effectively demonstrating that whether or not Cradock had internalized the values of his adopted society, he certainly propagated those values. We find in the verses the myth of the noble savage (the Indian), an acceptance of slavery as part of the natural order of social relations, but a repugnance for both the mistreatment of those slaves as well as sexual relations between the races.

Nonetheless, Skaggs points out that unlike other immigrant writers who carried over the English traditions and then stressed a literary nationalism in the theme of a westward movement of culture, Cradock continued to behave like a rural parson in England. He never stopped looking toward London as the only center of intellectual activity; he failed to consider the idea of a separate American intellectual center.

I do have one criticism of this edition. The proofreader goofed, not badly, but often enough to be annoying. In several places in the introduction the footnote numbers are omitted from the text. Thus on page 152, numbers 19 through 22 are not inserted. Again on page 82, number 11 is not printed. The information to which these numbers should refer, however, is given at the end of the chapters in the "Notes". There are also a few oddly transposed letters of words in the introduction ("beings" instead of "begins" for instance on page 72). These minor problems do not seriously detract from the importance of this publication. One can only hope that no such typographical errors are in the section of Cradock's verses, which I am glad to report, does not have any missing footnote numbers. These verses were photocopied from Skaggs' transcript and thus did not require typesetting and additional proofreading.

The editorial method in this work is appropriate and follows current practice. Skaggs' notes to the Cradock verses and the section of "Textual Notations" are useful additions that reflect some unique qualities of the manuscript. The Latin texts of Virgil's Epilogues used by Cradock are given in the "Notes" in their approximate location and many of the classical allusions are identified. Skaggs has followed scholarly attempts to preserve eighteenth-century spelling and punctuation practices and inconsistencies while creating a readable text for the twentieth-century reader without too many editorial distractions. He has succeeded in all respects.

ELAINE G. BRESLAW  
*Morgan State University*

*The Mechanics of Baltimore: Workers and*

*Politics in the Age of Revolution, 1763-1812.* By Charles G. Steffen. (Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1984. Pp. 296. \$24.95.)

Professor Steffen's volume examines the political role of Baltimore's skilled workers in the early national period. The author argues that previous evaluations of the city's politics in this era have stressed the importance of merchants while neglecting the mechanics. These workers, Steffen argues, became a self-conscious political force shaped by fights over ratification of the Constitution and the adoption of a city charter. Through collective struggle a class consciousness developed. Moreover, says Steffen, this class struggle for power and respectability contributed to the establishment of a "new republican order" in the United States.

To support his thesis, Steffen consulted a wide variety of contemporary sources. He traces the origins of Baltimore's mechanics and explores their behavior in the workplace, in political and economic associations, in the church, and in the militia. The mechanics achieved their greatest political power between 1794 and 1802, a period when no city politician could survive without their support. After 1802, the collapse of the Mechanical Society disrupted the institutional basis of the workers' political influence.

The chief value of Steffen's work is that it

adds considerable detail to our knowledge of the Baltimore mechanics, a group long recognized as important both in the city's and the nation's politics. The author's thesis, however, is questionable in important ways. Most significantly, he does not adequately define the term mechanics. At one time or another he includes everyone in Baltimore from shoe makers to wealthy manufacturers. In part Steffen's problem is that Baltimore's economy in this period was so dynamic that many individuals who began as skilled workers soon achieved higher economic and social status. Class consciousness is hard to achieve when the membership of a group changes so rapidly. Steffen must also be challenged about his view of the merchants and their role in the city's politics. In his zeal to promote the importance of the mechanics he ignores the fact that wealthy merchants and their allies in the press and in the legal community held most of the elective offices and the highest posts in the militia and did so with the support of the mechanics.

Scholars will find much of interest in this volume, particularly in those sections dealing with labor relations, political activism, and connections between the mechanics and the Methodist church. General readers may find the book overly detailed.

FRANK A. CASSELL

*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

# The East European Jewish Immigrant in America: An Index to the 1900 Baltimore Census

Family Names of Orthodox Jews Who, According to the 1900 Federal Census, Immigrated from the Russian Pale of Settlement to the City of Baltimore, Maryland where they either Made Residence or Became Incarcerated within its Institutions of Healing, Refuge, Penalty, or Learning

IRWIN M. BERENT

## INTRODUCTION

ONE OF THE LARGEST JEWISH COMMUNITIES in the world, the Orthodox Jewish community of Baltimore at the turn of the century, contained at least 4200 families. Today, a large percentage of the Jewish American population have as part of their ancestry members of that vast Baltimore community, most of whom immigrated from the area of Russia, Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia known collectively as the Pale of Jewish Settlement where Jewish residence was restricted by the Czar. Most of the community's members had arrived in America after 1881, the year in which the Czar enacted the Anti-Jewish "May Laws." A U.S. Census had just been conducted in 1880, and the next one would not be conducted until ten years later. The 1890 census, however, has since been destroyed, and it is, therefore, in the Federal Census of 1900 where the earliest information can be found about the Baltimore Jewish Community as a whole. The Census contains information about each member of the family, giving the person's full name, relationship to the head of family (besides the head, spouse, and children, there may also be the parents' parents, sisters, brothers, in-laws, nieces, nephews, and step-children as well

as servants, roomers, employees, and boarders), sex, date and place of birth, country of parents's birth, number of children borne by mother and number living, marital status and number of years married, occupation and number of months unemployed during the year, date of arrival in America, naturalization status (naturalized, papers being processed, or alien), ability to read, write and speak English, number of months children in school during the year, home address, and ownership status (owned, mortgaged, or rented). Although the majority of the Orthodox-Jewish families listed in the census arrived in this country between 1881 and 1900, some of the families were among the earliest Russian-Jewish settlers of America. Jews from Lithuania, Poland, and Russia began arriving in Baltimore in the 1860s and 1870s and established synagogues there by 1865. Since the 1900 Federal Census was more detailed than previous Federal Censuses, it therefore serves to reveal a great deal about this earlier Orthodox Jewish community as well.

Based entirely upon the 1900 Federal Census, the index herein lists the family names of the Baltimore Orthodox Jewish community and tells researchers exactly where the particular family's data is listed amongst the 12 reels of microfilm of the Baltimore census. The surnames of all persons who were listed in the census as having been born in either Russia or Poland and

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Mr. Berent is the founder and president of the Jewish Genealogical Club of Tidewater Virginia, and has published extensively.

as having immigrated to the United States are listed herein unless their common names and surnames were obviously, typically non-Jewish. (Thus many of the family names of the earliest pioneer Russian/Polish/Lithuanian-Jewish families are also listed herein provided that at least one immigrant member of the family was still alive at the time of the census and was listed therein.) Such non-Jewish names would include common names like Catherine, Chester, Walter, Ralph, Wilhelm, Wilhelmina, Vincent, and Victoria and most surnames which contained -inik, -itis, and -inis endings and other such characteristically non-Jewish sounds. East-European Jewish common names invariably included Abraham, Benjamin, Jacob, Joseph Samuel, Simon, David, Moses, Max, Leon, Esther, Sarah, Lena, Dena, Bessie, Minnie, Mollie, Ida, Hanna, Anna, etc. Also, the Jews were virtually never listed as having middle initials. Non-Russian Jews and non-Jews are included in this index only if they were recorded as being related through marriage to the Russian Jews. German-Jewish Americans, who were the major non-Russian Jewish group in Baltimore, were, for the most part, socially and spiritually distinct from their East-European co-religionists.

The original spelling of all names has been preserved in this list by copying each surname—letter-for-letter—as it appeared in the census. Caution should be given to the fact that census-takers were often unfamiliar with the seemingly peculiar names of their East-European immigrant neighbors, that they sometimes lacked sufficient spelling ability, and that their handwriting was often poor. Also, since each enumeration district had a different census-taker, many of the districts had typical spelling errors manifested in their recordings. Thus, one census-taker may have always written "Sachs" with a "k" in place of the "h." Another may have often written a word like "Friedman" as "Freidman" or words with "-ovitch" endings as "-ovicz" and words with "-son" endings as "-sohn." To compound the difficulty, the suppliers of the information often had European accents and lacked sufficient knowledge of English

spelling to tell the census-taker the correct spelling of their names. However, all of these inaccuracy factors have resulted in a unique record of how Baltimore's Orthodox Jewish community members spoke and how their neighbors interpreted their special tongue. It also serves as a partial explanation of how Jewish names became changed and Anglicized. Indeed, in many cases this index contains a variety of variations of the same original name.

The author has transcribed these names exactly as they appear. Thus, some words in this index may seem to be incorrectly spelled—some even lacking vowels. Also, if a particular letter in a name looked like either of two possible letters, then both spellings are recorded herein. Hence, for example, two different spellings have been given of "Sauber" and "Lauber", in which case the first letter appeared to be obviously either "S" or "L"; and both "Weinberg" and "Wineburg" are recorded for the same family because the letter between the "b" and "r" was obviously either a "u" or an "e".

However, with all of the effort to preserve the original spellings, the reader is advised to do two things in locating the correct name. The reader should consider the sound of the name he is searching and the appearance of that name when written in longhand. In considering the sound of the name one should also be mindful that European pronunciations of letters might also be recorded. Thus, for example, the name Weinstein could conceivably be spelled as Vunsheen, since the "W" could be pronounced as a "V," the letters "e" and "i" written together in longhand could look like a "u," and the "-ein" ending could be written as it sounds: "-een."

To make the most effective use of this index, the reader should also have some appreciation of the origins of Jewish family names. Dan Rottenberg makes this point clear in his pioneering work, *Finding Our Fathers: A Guidebook to Jewish Genealogy* (Random House, New York, 1977, p. 144). Says Rottenberg,

... Jewish family names were often modified or changed as Jews moved from one country to another... In addition, the same name may have been spelled several

different ways and in several different alphabets. A name like Horowitz, for example, is synonymous with Horovitz, Horwitz, Hurwitz, Urwicz and many other forms; in Russia it became Gorwitz, Gurwicz and Gurewicz. . . . [Also] just as Margulies is a modern adaptation of Margoloth, so your name might be a shortening, refinement or Anglicization of a more ancient name.

Remember, too, that some letters are often used interchangeably when Jewish family names are written in the English alphabet. The letter 'A' is sometimes interchangeable with 'E', [as in Adelman and Edelsohn]. . . . Some other interchangeable uses:

'B' and 'V' [as in Liberman and Liverman]. . . .

'Y' and silent 'J' [as in Yaffe and Jaffe]. . . .

'V' and 'W' [as in Viner and Weiner]. . . .

'F' and 'V' [as in Folson and Volshehn]. . . .

Hard 'C' and 'K' [as in Caplan and Kaplan]. . . .

'Ch' and 'Sh' [as in Chilman and Shilman]. . . .

'S' and soft 'C' and 'Z' (as in Cinberg, [Sinberg and Zinberg]) . . . .

In some cases a name may have been kept intact from one country to another except for a change of a single letter to make the name sound more comfortable in its new surroundings. A name like Zitomer, for example, might become Gitomer in the United States, and Zavin might be changed to Gavin.

In searching for names, [concludes Rotenberg], . . . do not constrict yourself to the exact present spellings of the particular names you seek. Use your imagination. Your ancestors certainly used theirs.

In order to locate a particular family name all possible spellings should be searched in each of the three alphabetic lists provided herein. The first list is of the family names found in reel number 608 (of the National Archives microfilm publication T623, 1900 Federal Census Schedule, City of Baltimore); the second for reel 609; and the third for reels 610 to 619. The major concentration of Orthodox Jewish family names is located on reels 608 and 609, but

several hundred are scattered throughout reels 610 to 619, generally representing the outskirts of the city. If a family name appears on the same page of the census twice it is listed here once only. Also if the listing of the members of a particular family extends to the next page of the census, and if the family name is therefore repeated on that page, then the family name will be listed here twice—once for each page. Oftentimes, in this case, the name will actually be spelled two different ways for the same family and thus provides further information on the correct spelling of the name. Therefore, if a name is listed herein as appearing on back-to-back pages it may either represent one family only or two different families.

Beside each name will be found the enumeration district number followed by the page number. The table of families per district (Table 1) indicates in which reel the particular enumeration district data is located. All Baltimore census reels are available at the Maryland Historical Society's library and at the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore. Elsewhere, the reel can be found at the National Archives, or can be ordered through inter-library loan or through stake centers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints ("Mormons"). The table also provides information on the numbers of family names in each enumeration district, thus revealing the general distribution of the Orthodox Jewish community throughout the city of Baltimore at the turn of the century. The table also indicates which enumeration districts represent institutions such as the Hebrew Hospital and Asylum, the Johns Hopkins Hospital, the Maryland Penitentiary, the Baltimore City Jail, the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, the House of Refuge, St. Mary's Industrial School For Boys, and the Nursery and Child's Hospital—all of which were institutions in which a number of Russians Jews were incarcerated. The Orphan Asylum is listed only on page 19 of its enumeration district and the Nursery and Child's Hospital is listed only on pages 17 to 18 of its enumeration districts.

TABLE OF FAMILIES PER DISTRICT

N.A. REEL NO.	ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO.	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	N.A. REEL NO.	ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO.	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	N.A. REEL NO.	ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO.	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	N.A. REEL NO.	ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO.	NUMBER OF FAMILIES
608	1	18	609	45	46	612	131	6	616	232(5)	41
	2	55		46	24		132	1		235	1
	3	16		47	76		133	5		236	1
	4	9		48	323		143	1		243	1
	6	4		49	191			<u>34</u>		317(6)	11
	7	7		50	449	613	162	3		327(7)	2
	8	2		51	264		164	1		246	7
	9	5		52	4		165	3		247	4
	10	48		54	45		167	2		248	77
	11	6		55	271		169	4		249	<u>3</u>
	12	56		56	43		173	<u>3</u>			150
	13	5		57	44			<u>16</u>	617	252	3
	15	10		58	151	614	174	1		253	1
	16	46		60	1		176	3		254	1
	17	3		63	7		180	4		257	3
	18	1		64	7		181	2		258	3
	19	11		65	4		182	12		259	1
	20	3		66	1		183	11		262	1
	21	4		67	<u>4</u>		184	9		265	5
	22	7			2023		185	2		267	2
	23	1	610	74	1		186	9		267(8)	8
	24	3		75	1		187	2		270	1
	25	8		76	1		191	8		271	4
	26	35		84	1		192	1		272	3
	27	29		88	9		193	2		274	16
	28	84		89	10		194	1		275	11
	29	13		90	21		197	1		276	1
	30	24		93	<u>2</u>		199	6		278	<u>2</u>
	31	23			46		200	8			66
	32	79	611	100	1		206	<u>3</u>	618	279	2
	33	46		102	1			<u>85</u>		281	1
	34	8		103	2	615	208	1		282	1
	35	71		105(1)	18		209	1		286	1
	36	160		320(2)	6		210	5		287	1
	37	39		107	2		211	3		290	3
	38	10		108	1		213	1		292	1
	39	24		109	5		214	2		295	3
	40	258		117	<u>1</u>		219	2		302	1
	41	95			<u>37</u>		222	2		303	5
	42	392	612	128	1		225	3		305	<u>2</u>
	43	<u>84</u>		318(3)	6		226	<u>2</u>			<u>21</u>
		1687		319(4)	2			<u>22</u>	619	311	<u>1</u>
609	44	68		130	12	616	232	2			1

- (1) Hebrew Hospital and Asylum
- (2) The Johns Hopkins Hospital
- (3) Maryland Penitentiary
- (4) Baltimore City Jail

- (5) Hebrew Orphan Asylum (p. 19)
- (6) House of Refuge
- (7) St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys
- (8) Nursery and Child's Hospital (pages 17-18)

## REEL 608

AARON 35-2	BADDOCK 42-7	BERMAN 42-6
AARONSON 10-4	BADICK 40-12	BERMAN 43-13
AARONSON 2-10	BAER 31-1	BERMAN 43-9
ABELL 12-13	BAER 39-10	BERMAN 9-2
ABELL 12-8	BALK 12-7	BERMAN A40-12
ABELSON 42-14	BALSER 28-5	BERNSTEIN 33-1
ABRAHAM 33-1	BALSER 40-8	BERNSTEIN 36-4
ABRAHAM 42-12	BALTER 42-8	BERNSTEIN 37-13
ABRAHAM 42-19	BALTZER 28-8	BERNSTEIN 40-10
ABRAHAM 43-7	BANDRISH 42-19	BERNSTEIN 40-19
ABRAHAMSON 33-3	BANK 12-10	BERNSTEIN 40-4
ABRAHAMSON 42-20	BANK 12-13	BERNSTEIN 40-8
ABRAHAMSON 42-18	BANK 13-11	BERNSTEIN 42-13
ABRAM 32-1	BANK 2-12	BERNSTEIN 42-5
ABRAMOVITZ 28-4	BANK 2-3	BERNSTEIN 43-13
ABRAMS 28-8	BANKOWITZ 41-8	BERNSTEIN 43-8
ABRAMS 36-13	BARAWAS 27-13	BINDOCK 7-3
ABRAMSON 41-14	BARBER 1-7	BISCO 42-5
ABRAMSON 42-17	BARKAS 40-19	BIWELSKIS 8-8
ABRAMSON 42-19	BARKER 42-1	BLACK 35-1
ABROMOWITZ 42-6	BARMAN 12-10	BLAIWASS 40-18
ACKERMAN 10-3	BARNET 43-13	BLAUSTEIN 28-2
ADELBERG 36-7	BARON 42-10	BLAUSTEIN 28-5
ADELMAN 28-1	BARR 16-3	BLAUSTEIN 42-19
ADELMAN 41-11	BARR 40-1	BLAUSTEIN 42-20
ADES 27-2	BARTKUS 2-2	BLICER 26-7
ADLER 10-17	BASKEWITZ 42-20	BLICK 16-6
ADLER 27-13	BEAR 2-12	BLIDEN 43-14
ADLER 37-7	BEAR 42-17	BLITZMAN 30-4
ADLER 40-13	BEARMAN 36-3	BLIVESS 2-8
ADLER 40-15	BECKER 32-5	BLOCK 12-10
ADLER 40-4	BECKERMAN 42-7	BLOCK 12-12
ADLER 40-5	BEKEWITZ 40-13	BLOCK 16-5
ADLER 42-2	BENDEL 28-4	BLOCK 3-4
ADLER 42-21	BENDER 28-4	BLOCK 33-3
ADLER 42-22	BENDER 35-6	BLOCK 36-8
ADLER 42-8	BENESCH 25-10	BLOCK 41-15
AHRENBERG 40-14	BENESH 41-4	BLOOM 35-10
AKELITYS 2-8	BENJAMIN 43-6	BLOOM 40-5
ALBERT 40-1	BENMAN 41-14	BLOOM 41-15
ALBERT 7-3	BENN 4-6	BLOOM 42-10
ALKON 42-11	BENOVITZ 36-11	BLOOMBERG 41-14
ALLISON 10-6	BERAZANSKY 36-4	BLUM 30-3
ALTER 2-11	BERDANSKY 40-10	BLUM 32-4
ALTOUS 33-6	BERFELD 13-11	BLUM 36-12
AMOLSKY 42-15	BERGER 10-1	BLUM 36-3
AMOS 43-15	BERGER 41-6	BLUM 40-11
AMRRER 41-7	BERKOVITZ 28-15	BLUM 42-19
AMUSCHEWSKY 40-9	BERKSMAN 42-17	BLUMBACK 33-5
ANSELOWITZ 42-10	BERLIN 42-13	BLUMBERG 2-8
APPLE 28-8	BERLINOR 35-9	BLUMBERG 42-14
APPLESTEIN 28-6	BERLOVITZ 36-5	BLUMENFELD 32-3
ARAMSON 32-3	BERMAN 28-5	BLUMENFELD 42-4
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## BOOK NOTES

*A Guide to Genealogical Research in Carroll County.* By the Carroll County Genealogical Society. (50 E. Main St., Westminster, MD 21157: Carroll Co. Genealogical Society, 1984. 107 pp. \$9.00.)

This ambitious publication, focusing primarily on pre-1900 "records and places in existence," guides genealogists to the available sources for Carroll County ancestral research, in a series of well-organized essays and listings.

A brief history of Carroll County, formed from Baltimore and Frederick Counties in 1837, a listing of towns and villages prior to 1900, and enlightening maps, several of which were drawn by Robert B. Wilkinson with the assistance of historiographer George J. Horvath, Jr., orient the reader toward research in Carroll County. As well, essays acquaint the reader with the holdings of the Carroll County Public Library and the Historical Society, and the records of the County government and court. These essays provide terse summaries, however, and might have been expanded to explore the weaknesses and strengths of the collections in question. For further research, the repositories of the Maryland Historical Society, the D. A. R. Library, and the Maryland Hall of Records are highlighted and a selective bibliography has been appended. An index is likewise included and although comprehensive, might have differentiated family surnames and town names which are indistinguishable in this index.

Particularly helpful and exhaustively researched are the portions of the *Guide* which focus on the churches, cemeteries, and newspapers of Carroll County. Church listings, prepared by Elizabeth and Richard Clopper, are arranged according to denomination and provide the name of the church, location/present address, date of establishment, record availability, and other pertinent details. These listings are extensively footnoted, indicating the Cloppers' sources of information. The cemeteries listing, generated by Mary Ann Alspach, provides the name of the cemetery, location/address, the nature of the cemetery (whether it is family, church, or public), ethnic composition (if applicable), year established or earliest burial, and availability of inscriptions. For ease of location, the cemeteries have been plotted on a series of maps. Joe Getty has provided an interesting essay on early journalistic efforts in Carroll County, as well as updating and condensing J.

Leland Jordan's *A Checklist of the Carroll County Press* (1937). The publishing history of the newspaper and the availability of issues are outlined.

Carroll County Genealogical Society's "contribution to Maryland's 350th birthday celebration," goes beyond its modest objective of making "the task of finding records a little easier." Concise information concerning a substantial assemblage of dispersed records and other sources for Carroll County research is outlined in this well-executed publication. This *Guide* is excellent proof that a relatively new organization (only three years old at the time of publication) is capable of significant contributions to the body of genealogical reference materials.

GARY W. PARKS  
Greensboro, NC

*1850 Census of Dorchester County, Maryland.* By Debra Smith Moxey. 2nd ed. (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, Oct. 1984. 113 pp. Indexed. \$8.50.) (Maryland Residents add 5% sales tax).

The author first published her transcription of the 1850 Census in 1981. Since then a number of errors have been found and corrected, resulting in this second edition. Users should be aware that the census is in three sections, each with its own index, which precedes the census. Also included with each index is a list of those individuals who were married within the year. The transcription of the census includes family number, last name, first name, age and sex, occupations (abbreviated), birthplace if outside of Maryland, color if other than white, and notations of anything out of the ordinary. This highly recommended book can be ordered from Family Line Publications, 13405 Collingwood Terrace, Silver Spring, Maryland, 20904.

ROBERT BARNES  
Perry Hall, Md.

*1860 Census of Talbot County, Maryland.* By Janet Wilson Riley. (Silver Spring: Family Line Publications, 1985. 102 pp. Indexed. \$10.50.) (Maryland Residents add 5% sales tax.)

The author has transcribed the 1860 Census, showing house number, name, age, color if other

than white, occupation, place of birth if outside Maryland, whether married within the census year, and any comments. There is a list of dwelling numbers, their post offices, district, and dates on which the census was taken. There are also two lists of abbreviations—one for place of origin, and one key to occupations. The surname index is adequate for a work of this size. Persons contemplating the compilation of similar records for other counties would do well to take this work as their model. Highly recommended. Order from publisher (address in previous review).

ROBERT BARNES  
Perry Hall, Md.

*War of 1812 Genealogy.* By George K. Schweitzer. (Privately Published. c.r. 1983. 70 pp. Order from Dr. Geo. K. Schweitzer, 7914 Gleason, C-1136, Knoxville, Tenn., 37919.)

The author, who has published similar guides for the Revolutionary War and Civil War, has compiled a slim volume packed with helpful information. The six chapters deal with the events of the War itself, the various kinds of service records, postwar records, publications, local sources, and a final chapter entitled "Sites, Sights, and Cites." A series of maps locate the principal locations of interest. Each chapter includes lists of helpful publications and places to write for additional information. The book is so

thoroughly done that it is a must for Maryland libraries, historical and genealogical societies, and persons doing research on the period.

ROBERT BARNES  
Perry Hall, Md.

*South Carolina Genealogical Research.* By George K. Schweitzer. (Privately Published. 192 pp. \$9.00. Order from the author, 7914 Gleason, C-1136, Knoxville, Tennessee, 37919).

The author, who has published similar guides for Kentucky (154 pp., \$8.00), North Carolina (192 pp., \$9.00), and Tennessee (138 pp., \$8.00), has included a chapter on South Carolina history and geography, types of records, location of records, and research procedures and county listings. A series of maps trace the development of South Carolina counties, parishes, townships, and districts. Because of changing boundaries, changing names of administrative areas, and changing location of records, this one section alone makes the book extremely helpful. Other sections of the chapter on records deal with bible, birth, and ethnic records, biographies, manuscripts, and published genealogies. There is even a section devoted to mortuary records. The book is highly recommended for all libraries with South Carolina materials and for all researchers working with South Carolina families.

ROBERT BARNES  
Perry Hall, Md.

# NEWS AND NOTICES

## MHM TO OFFER PRIZE FOR BEST ARTICLE

The Maryland Historical Society announces the establishment of an annual prize for the best article published in the quarterly *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The prize, \$350, will be awarded to the author of the article judged by a panel of scholars and laypersons to be the year's best in its contribution to scholarship and its general interest.

The first award, covering the 1985 issues of the *Magazine* (Volume 80), will be announced in early 1986. Readers of the *Magazine* are urged to write to the prize committee, in care of *Maryland Historical Magazine* (201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201) with their nominations of deserving articles.

## NORRIS HARRIS GENEALOGICAL SOURCE RECORD CONTEST

Mrs. Norris Harris, a member of the Maryland Historical and the Maryland Genealogical Societies as well as a number of lineal societies, has established a monetary award for the best compilation of genealogical source records of Maryland. This prize, to be awarded annually, was established in memory of the late Norris Harris who was an ardent genealogist for many years.

### RULES

1. All entries must be submitted in typewritten or published form and include an index if not arranged in alphabetical order.
2. Entries will be judged on scope, originality of the project, volume, and value to the genealogical researcher.
3. Entries must be original work, i.e., never before abstracted for public use, or published in any other work, serially or otherwise.
4. Entries should be submitted to the Norris Harris Genealogical Source Record Contest, c/o Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201, and must be received by March 31 of the contest year.
5. All entries will become the property of the Maryland Historical Society. Publication rights and/or copyright remain with the entrant.

## THE PARKER GENEALOGICAL CONTEST

In 1946 Mrs. Sumner A. Parker presented the Society with a sum of money in memory of her husband, the late Sumner A. Parker, with the suggestion that the income should be used to furnish cash prizes for an annual contest to determine the best genealogical works concerning families of or originating in Maryland.

### RULES

1. Entries must be typewritten or in printed form and include an index.
2. References to sources from which information was obtained must be cited.
3. Entries will be judged on quality of content, scope and organization of material and clarity of presentation.
4. Decision of the judges will be final.
5. Entries for contest for any given year must be mailed prior to December 31st of that year to Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201.
6. All entries will become the property of the Maryland Historical Society. Publication rights and/or copyright remain with the author.

## CHESTERTOWN WALKING TOUR

The Historical Society of Kent County, Inc. will sponsor the 15th annual Candlelight Walking Tour of Historic Chestertown, Maryland on Saturday, September 21, 1985 from 6-10 p.m. More than a dozen architecturally significant 18th and 19th century historic buildings will be open to the public at a charge of \$15 per person. Additional information and tickets may be obtained through the Historical Society, P.O. Box 665, Chestertown, MD 21620; (301)778-3499.

## NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

The National Genealogical Society is moving! Please change our address on all your records and mailing lists.

Old Address:

National Genealogical Society  
1921 Sunderland Place NW  
Washington DC 20036

NEW ADDRESS:

National Genealogical Society  
4527 Seventeenth Street North  
Arlington, VA 22207-2363

Phone: (703) 525-0050

CORRECTION

*The Bean Family of Maryland*, reviewed in the Summer 1985 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*, is available from the author for \$20.00 plus \$2.00 for postage and handling. Maryland residents are required to pay \$1.00 sales tax. Order from:

Margaret B. Langley  
P.O. Box 97  
Bryantown, MD 20617

# MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE

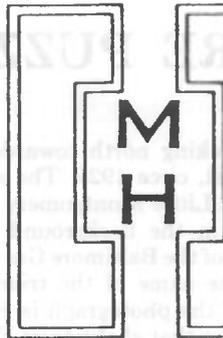
Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle shows a photograph from the collection of the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society. In this issue we have decided to try a new approach to the puzzle. In the past, we have known the location and date of the photograph before printing it in the *Magazine*. This time we have selected a photograph that we have not been able to identify. A possible clue: the sign on the facade of the Palo Alto Hotel and Restaurant reads "Faust Beer, Doc Garges". Test your knowledge of Maryland, and help us to document our collection, by identifying the location of this view.

The Summer 1985 puzzle depicted Sharp

Street looking north towards Hill Street and Lee Street, circa 1925. The street in the foreground is Little Montgomery Street. The office building in the background is the Lexington Building of the Baltimore Gas and Electric Company. The name of the triangular plot in the center of the photograph is Hermitage Square. It was here that abolitionist Frederick Douglass gave a speech in October of 1878. The spot was created in 1846, and named after Andrew Jackson's home in Tennessee.

Congratulations to the following individuals for submitting correct responses to the Summer 1985 puzzle: Mr. and Mrs. Martin E. Boessel, John R. Holland, Jr., and John R. Orrick.





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George H. Callcott, professor of history and formerly Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at the University of Maryland, College Park, is the author of *A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND* (1966), and *HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1800-1860* (Johns Hopkins, 1970).



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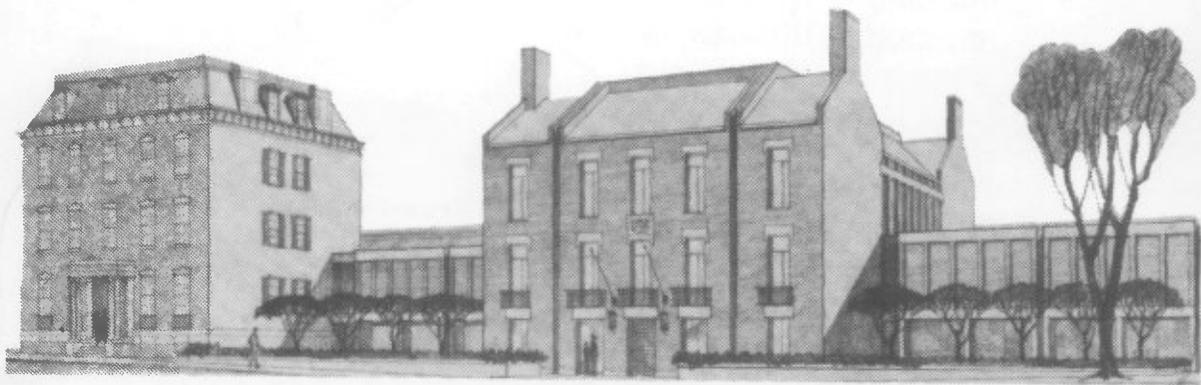
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